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Cyrene, White Marble Acroterion in the Form of a Gorgon

CHRISTIANITY AND THE INVASIONS: SYNESIUS OF CYRENE

CHARLES HENRY COSTER

“THE CIVILIZATION which proclaimed the eternity of Rome could not survive the triumph of the religion which inspired *The City of God*; the civilization which proclaimed the ideal of *mens sana in corpore sano* could not survive the triumph of the religion which revered St. Simeon Stylites.”¹ Yet what more striking proof of the eternity of Rome could there be than the fact that the Popes succeeded the Caesars, that they assumed the venerable title of *Pontifex Maximus*, once rejected as pagan by the Emperor Gratian? What greater triumph of the methods of Aristotle than the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas? Classical civilization did indeed die, but not without heirs to inherit very considerable portions of its estate.

The heritage was transmitted to the Europe of the earlier Middle Ages through two main channels. First, in the Mediterranean basin, at a level below that of conscious culture, through the continuity of the daily life and

habits of the people. The ruler might be a Roman, an Angevin, or a Savoy; the women of southern Italy would still carry their *amphorae* to the village fountains; the shepherds play their pipes in the hills.²

The second channel of transmission—the one with which we are here concerned—was the Church. For it was the very Church the expansion of which was proof that the classical world was moribund—it was this very Church that was destined to adopt and to hand down much of Roman law, of Greek and Latin literature, the very notions (and the words themselves) of education, orderly administration, urbanity and civilization. If classical civilization could not survive the triumph of the Christian Church, yet neither could the Church become the directing force throughout Europe without first absorbing much of the classical tradition. It had to have leaders, and those leaders, however original, were necessarily men brought up in the classical tradition—what other was there, once the Church had ceased to be merely a Jewish sect? These leaders brought with them much

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volume 55 (1960) 146-50.

of the background of the only world they knew.

The impregnation of the Church by classical culture began as soon as Christianity sought converts among upper classes — apart, that is, from the Jews, who, though often very highly educated, generally rejected the classical tradition. The Apologists were cultivated men. If Justin Martyr was not an inspired writer, he was no mean figure; Minutius Felix was one of the most delightful authors of his time; Tertullian was a genius and a scholar second only to St. Augustine among the Latin Christian writers; Origen was one of the most prolific writers and greatest scholars of all time. He names, by the way, his own teacher, Pantaeus, as an example of a Christian doctor who availed himself of pagan learning.³ Yet the scathing contempt of Tertullian for the old myths sung by the poets, St. Augustine's severe condemnation of them,⁴ the famous dream of St. Jerome, the harshness with which Gregory the Great rebuked Desiderius of Vienne for lecturing on profane literature⁵ — there is plenty to prove that the process of absorption was not easy, and of course it was lamentably far from complete.

The barbarian invasions, curiously enough, furthered the process to a marked degree. They were unquestionably one of the major causes of the destruction of classical civilization in the West: the successor-states could not maintain the roads, the schools, the commerce of even the later Empire; the cities shrank to fractions of their former size; law degenerated into custom; history into chronicles; literature, architecture, painting and sculpture dwindled until they could no longer be said to exist as living arts. Still, though these invasions shared with Christianity the responsibility for killing classical civilization, they also drove many of the members of the senatorial aristocracy, at that time the chief depository of classical culture in the West, into assuming positions of leadership in the Church, thereby increasing both the

desire of the Church to assume its new role and its capacity to do so.

At the end of the fourth century the bishop had already become the leading figure in the city: head of the Church, most important judicial officer, leader in all aspects of civic welfare, defender of his flock against predatory soldiers and officials, and against barbarian invaders.⁶ If this was the position of the bishop under a government still Roman and landlords still indigenous, it is easy to see how much the need for his protection would increase when the Roman governors and prefects were replaced by barbarian kings, when the landlords, though usually left in possession of most of their estates, yet often had to give up parts to Germanic proprietors, and, as to the rest, were freed from the restraint, such as it was, of the old authorities.⁷ It was natural, therefore, that as the office of bishop became more important from a secular point of view, figures more considerable in the lay world should come to be chosen as bishops with increasing frequency, and should be willing, perhaps under a little pressure in some cases, to accept the office. There arose an unmistakable tendency to select men of such capacity, training and position as to be able to take over the functions that were gradually being abandoned by the lay authorities and also to hold their own under alien rule — to protect the Catholic, Latin population from too great oppression by their new Arian, Germanic masters.⁸

In many cases, such men, though sincere Christians, had not been induced to become bishops so much because of any sudden access of religious zeal as because that seemed to them the best way to help their communities. There was no reason, then, for them to develop any aversion to the Classics which had formed their minds; their admission to the ranks of the higher clergy was undoubtedly a major factor in promoting the absorption of large elements of classical culture by the Church. Even a Paulinus of Nola (and he, converted to a high degree of asceticism, is as diffi-

cult an example as one can select), though he might renounce the writing of secular poetry, yet in his *Natalicia*, composed in honor of St. Felix, maintained the same standard—high, but scarcely inspired—that had brought him literary fame as a layman. Sidonius Apollinaris also renounced writing poetry after he became bishop,⁹ but he continued to write in the euphuistic style so much admired in his time. St. Ambrose himself, the brilliant prototype of the magnate become bishop, went even further. Though he practised austerity in his way of living, he continued to believe in the value of classical education, and to introduce classical allusions into his writings.¹⁰ And, as we have seen, Desiderius of Vienne was still teaching classical literature a good two centuries later.

We have just referred to St. Ambrose as the prototype of the magnate become bishop. Synesius of Cyrene,¹¹ though one of the leading figures in his province, was not a magnate on the imperial scale, as were St. Ambrose himself, Paulinus of Nola, Rutilius Namatianus and others whom we have mentioned. Unlike them, he was not a member of the immensely rich senatorial class, but was of curial rank, a member, that is, of the well-to-do provincial nobility.¹² Nevertheless, the events in which he took part and his reactions to them made his life a striking illustration of our theme. That he came from the Greek half of the Empire, not the Latin, makes him perhaps the exception that proves the rule. For the barbarian menace became acute in the East some years before it reached the critical stage in the West; it is significant that his reactions to that crisis were so similar to those of the western leaders when they later had to face situations similar to his. That his successors should, for the most part, have been in the West and not in the East, is surely due to the fact that the imperial government in the East overcame its crisis, while the imperial government in the West succumbed.

Cyrene had been one of the most pros-

perous of the Grecian colonies, but it had slowly declined under Roman rule, and had been destroyed and the inhabitants decimated by the Jews during their savage revolt in 115 A.D. Dio Cassius, speaking, to be sure, not of Cyrene alone, but of Cyrenaica, tells us that 220,000 Greeks and Romans were killed at this time.¹³ Ammianus Marcellinus referred to it as *urbs antiqua sed deserta*.¹⁴ Synesius wrote of it: "Cyrene, a Greek city of ancient and holy name, sung in a thousand odes by the wise men of the past, but now poor and downcast, a vast ruin, . . ." and in another passage he referred to it as having fallen lower than any of the cities of Pontus.¹⁵ Yet we know that Hadrian had reinvigorated the region with new colonists, and that he rebuilt at least the heart of the city—very handsomely, too, as we can still see. Further, Synesius himself often refers to shipping and the sending of goods by sea in a way that implies considerable trade; his letters on local politics reveal an active civic life and prove that there were considerable numbers of well-to-do citizens. The truth would seem to be that the whole region had declined; that the ports, especially Ptolemais and Apollonia or Sozousa, had gained at the expense of the older inland cities of Cyrene and Barca; that the Cyrene of the time of Synesius was a moderately small but lively town, with a very great tradition, concentrated around the temples and shrines that had been the center of the ancient metropolis, but, probably, with large areas of what had been the old city now stretching, ruined and abandoned, beyond the urban limits of his day.¹⁶

Synesius was born in or near Cyrene, possibly as early as 360 A.D., perhaps as late as 375.¹⁷ He received his early education there. We may get some idea of his school years from a few passages in which Synesius refers to the bringing-up of younger members of his family. In one letter, we find him expressing his pleasure at the progress his nephew is making in declaiming verse, and in another praising the boy's assiduity in

reading. We find him planning to introduce his own son, as yet unborn, to the great philosophers and other prose writers. He will advise the youth gradually to relax his mind after study of these deeper works by turning to lighter ones, and finally to comedy, "at one moment playing with your books, at another working with them." He refers to the works of Dio Chrysostom as on the border between "preparatory teaching and instruction in the ultimate truth."¹⁸ If we may apply these remarks to his own education, it seems that this must have been about the point that he himself reached before leaving Cyrene for Alexandria. Interestingly enough, we have no evidence whatever that he was familiar with Latin literature.¹⁹

It would be a serious omission if we were to treat of the education of Synesius without emphasizing further the major part which physical training and games and sports of all kinds played in it. We know that he bought a slave to act as a physical trainer.²⁰ We are not told whether this was for himself, his nephew, or his sons, but it is obvious that he attached real importance to such training and that he himself had certainly received it as a boy. Indeed, he writes, "When I look up from my books, I like to enter into every sort of sport." Above all, hunting meant a very great deal to him. The earliest of his works that we know of (unfortunately, it has not come down to us) was called *Cynegetics*. Near the end of his life, he wrote:

I feel that I have a good deal of inclination for amusements. Even as a child, I was charged with a mania for arms and horses. I shall be grieved, indeed greatly shall I suffer at seeing my beloved dogs deprived of their hunting, and my bow eaten up by worms.

All in all,²¹ we may be sure that Synesius as a boy and as a youth had the well-rounded education, physical and mental, of a Greek, still pagan, of good family, and that it was carried as far as his age and the resources of the

town and of his father's library²² permitted.

Cyrene, though, however great its history, was then a comparatively small town and probably offered only limited facilities for advanced studies. Further, the parents of Synesius seem to have died before this time,²³ and perhaps the young man wanted to see something of the world. At any rate, he went to Alexandria, then one of the great centers of living Greek civilization, and there sat under the great Hypatia, the most famous pagan teacher of her day.

Hypatia was held in esteem as a mathematician and astronomer, and above all as the chief exponent of Neoplatonism in her time. Dramatic tales of her beauty, her tragic death—these must not deceive us into doubting the solid foundation of her great reputation. Her works have not come down to us, but the very serious respect with which the Christian sources speak of her, the pagan teacher assassinated by a Christian mob, is conclusive evidence that her fame was fully deserved.²⁴

This remarkable woman was the outstanding influence in the development of the mental and spiritual capacities of Synesius. He appealed to her for sympathy in his personal sorrows and in his distress at the misfortunes of his beloved Cyrene; he submitted his writings to her judgment; sure of her approval, he wrote of his abhorrence of fanaticism, of his intention to give importance to style even in serious writing, of his wish to mingle the grave with the playful. He was grateful to her above all for her philosophical—or perhaps we ought rather to say, religious—instruction, for having introduced him to the "mystic dogmas," for having taught him to choose the best, ever to strive for the ultimate reunion of his soul, freed from the trammels of debasing matter, with the Divine Being of whom it was, and always had been, a part.²⁵

It cannot be claimed that there was anything very original in the philosophy of Synesius, nor shall we have

occasion to analyze it in this paper, beyond pointing out certain important aspects in which it differed from Christianity. We must always keep in mind, though, that this side of his life was and ever remained of the highest importance to him. We have seen his attachment to sports and hunting, we shall see his devotion to civic duties. These interests must not make us forget that he regarded the one as a necessary relaxation from more serious occupations, and the other, as an indispensable duty to be sure, but also as one that should on no account be allowed to become a burdensome distraction from the pursuit of the highest aim: the redemption of the soul from the bondage of matter, and its reunion with the Divinity whence it came. As he himself expressed it towards the end of his life:²⁶

From childhood, leisure and comfort in life have ever appeared to me a divine blessing which someone has said befits divine natures; and this is naught else but the culture of the intellect, and its reconciliation with God on the part of the man who possesses that leisure and profits by it. . . . passing my days as in a sacred festival, I strove throughout all my life to preserve a state of spirit gentle and untroubled by storms.

But, nevertheless, God has not made me useless to men, inasmuch as oftentimes both cities and private individuals made use of my services in time of need. For God gave me the power to do the utmost and to will the fairest. None of these services drew me apart from philosophy, nor cut short my happy leisure. . . . I lived with good hopes . . . apportioning my life between prayer, books, and the chase. For, that the soul and body may be in health, it is necessary to do some work on the one hand and on the other to make supplication to God.

We have already contrasted the positions of Rutilius Namatianus and Paulinus of Nola.²⁷ They were diametrically opposite: the one a pagan, the other a Christian; the one believing that man's highest duty was to the state, the other believing that the true Christian should confront even the barbarian invader with non-resistance; the one with real and deep reverence for the classical

tradition of moderation and proportion in all things, the other (though he preserved more of the classical than he perhaps realized) an uncompromising ascetic.

It is interesting to find in Synesius, their contemporary, a man who in himself reconciled their contradictions. Like Rutilius, he was born a pagan; like Paulinus, he died a Christian bishop. Like Rutilius, he was intensely patriotic; like Paulinus, he felt that the highest duty of man was the salvation of his soul—but he did not feel that this highest duty entailed asceticism, or that it could be properly performed at the expense of his duty to his country and to his fellow-citizens. Like Rutilius, he despised fanaticism; like Paulinus, he was a deeply religious man. We turn now to the mature life of Synesius to witness the manifestation of these qualities.

Sailing to the Pentapolis in 395,²⁸ Synesius, for all his professed desire to devote himself entirely to philosophy,²⁹ soon found himself actively engaged in war and politics, and yet with leisure to write his *Calvitii Encomium*, an elegant bit of sophistry in avowed imitation of Dio.³⁰

Resistance to the barbarian invaders of the Empire was perhaps the dominating external factor in the life of Synesius. Let us, then, look more closely at an aspect of this problem which particularly concerned Cyrenaica and Synesius. Throughout history, the Berbers have constituted the dominant ethnic element in the population of North Africa west of Egypt. Politically, they have almost always been subject to foreign powers, and have adopted the civilizations of the colonizing peoples with considerable success. The Greeks in Cyrenaica, the Phoenicians and Romans further west, the Byzantines, the Arabs and later the Turks (though the Turks seem to have left the Arabic civilization undisturbed, merely permitting it to sink to a lower stage of degradation), and finally the Spaniards, French and Italians have all estab-

lished themselves along these shores; always, though, in long, narrow strips, wherever highlands near the coast have attracted sufficient rainfall to support settled populations. Inland, the highlands fall away to the south, the country becoming ever drier until it merges into the great desert. This region, too dry for permanent settlement, especially before modern machinery made it possible to dig deep wells, has yet always supported nomadic tribes. Until the coming of the camel, these lived more or less wretchedly on their flocks and herds, perhaps on tribute levied from the inhabitants of the smaller oases, to a considerable extent by hunting and, when driven by hunger or tempted by the weakness of their prospective victims, by raiding the settled areas to the north. The introduction of the camel into Africa west of Egypt seems to have taken place as late as the fourth century A.D. The animal had already become common in Cyrenaica in the time of Synesius; the nomadic tribes, just beginning to make use of them, were gaining greatly in mobility and in consequence becoming far more dangerous than they ever had been before.³¹

The writings of Synesius are full of allusions to wars with these nomadic raiders from the south, but the dates of many of his letters are uncertain. Two incidents, though, seem surely to apply to the time we have now reached, 395 A.D. The enemy was said to be approaching Cyrene, and local forces, acting on the initiative of Synesius, moved out against them, being joined by others from the neighboring town of Balagrae under their own commander. For five days, Joannes the Phrygian, evidently an officer charged with the defense of the region, was not to be found. At last, though, he came, explaining that he had been fighting the barbarians elsewhere. He assumed the task of whipping the force into shape, but caused nothing but confusion. Presently, the enemy appeared, a sorry-looking lot of ruffians on horseback.

Following their usual custom, they dismounted in order to fight on foot. Synesius wished to do likewise since the ground did not seem suitable for cavalry maneuvers. Joannes, though, ordered a charge and then, instead of leading it, turned his horse about and galloped off to the shelter of some distant caves. The two forces separated without actually coming to blows.

More heroic was the resistance of the clergy of Axomis. While the professional soldiers were hiding from the enemy, the priests called the peasants of the district together and led them out against the raiders. They surprised the barbarians in a narrow defile—but appear to have been surprised themselves too. The Deacon Faustus rose to the emergency: he seized a stone, sprang upon the foremost of the enemy, struck him in the temple with the stone, knocked him down, stripped him of his armor and followed this by felling other barbarians as they came up, directing the skirmish and putting the raiders to route. These priests, Synesius tells us, were the first to encourage the people by showing that the barbarians could actually be wounded and killed. Later on, though, Synesius seems to have taken part in actual fighting: he wrote to Hypatia that he saw the enemy and slain men every day, and that sooner or later he expected to be killed too.³²

If we put this information, scanty as it is, together with what we know of the political activities of Synesius, the pieces fit into a consistent whole. He had declined the offer of his friend Herculian to secure for him an introduction to the commander of the forces in Cyrene. He now accepted the offer after all, on the ground that his friends, both civilians and soldiers, were urging him to take part in local politics. He took his place as a member of the *curia* of Cyrene and there urged that barbarian mercenaries should be excluded from the army, and that the Pentapolis should no longer be a separate military command but return to its former status of dependence on the *Praefectus*

Augustalis, the head of the imperial administration in Egypt.³³ This seems to accord with his experiences as a leader of local levies and with his dissatisfaction with the Phrygian officer, Joannes. As to the barbarians, we see from many passages that he felt (though he later somewhat modified his point of view) that they had no real interest in the defence of the country but cared only to make their fortunes. As to the officers responsible to Constantinople, he felt that the authorities there considered Cyrenaica a remote and unimportant province, and awarded the command for political reasons or for money rather than on the ground of merit. Egypt, on the other hand, shared common problems of defence with Cyrenaica and would feel that a threat to the security of that province was a threat to its own security as well.³⁴

He seems, though, to have been sharply opposed, especially by a certain Julius, who was a very powerful figure in Cyrene and remained the opponent of Synesius for the rest of his life. Perhaps, too, officers in command of the imperial troops in the province resented his opinion of them. For a time, at least, his enemies had the best of the argument: Synesius surprised even his own brother by embarking unexpectedly for Athens in obedience to mysterious warnings sent in dreams that many people were bent on doing him harm if he did not at once leave Cyrene.³⁵ In another letter, he wrote that he found in Athens nothing but the ancient sites, the mere desiccated skin of the city which once had lived. One might have expected a more gentle comment from one so attached to a Cyrene that was also shorn of its ancient glories.

Whatever the cause of this unexpected trip and however vigorous the opposition of Julius, Synesius soon returned to Cyrene and apparently carried a vote in the *curia* in favor of the measures he desired: in 399, we find him in Constantinople as envoy from Cyrene and in that capacity advocat-

ing, in a formal address before Arcadius, that the Emperor should abandon his life of luxurious and hieratic seclusion, that he should assume real control of his government and real command of his armies, that the barbarians should be excluded from the government and from the armies, that provincial governors should be chosen on a basis of merit only, that the Emperor should learn to know his dominions by travel and by listening to the requests of missions sent to his court, and that he should enrich the cities and his subjects in general by curbing extravagance and reducing taxation.³⁶

It will not be possible to discuss many interesting aspects of this famous speech: we are concerned with Christianity and the barbarian invasions, so that it is the attitude of Synesius towards the barbarians that must occupy us. Only a few years before, an earlier orator, Pacatus, had praised Theodosius the Great, the father of Arcadius before whom Synesius spoke:³⁷

Dicamne ego receptos servitum Gothos castris tuis militem, terris sufficere cultorem? . . . quaecumque natio barbarorum robore ferocia numero gravis umquam nobis fuit, aut boni consulit ut quiescat aut laetatur quasi amica, si serviat. . . .

Synesius painted an entirely different picture:³⁸ Gothic generals seated in the Consistory, large Gothic contingents in the Roman armies, Gothic slaves in quantities. The situation was ripe for the wolves—generals, soldiers and slaves together—to fall upon the sheep. Indeed, parts of the Empire (Synesius was referring to Tribigild in Asia Minor and Alaric in Epirus) were already inflamed by such movements. The Emperor should therefore purge his council and his armies of the barbarians while he could still do so.

It was not merely that Pacatus and Synesius looked upon public affairs from different points of view, but that the situation had deteriorated with startling speed during the decade between the two orations. When Pacatus spoke in 389, all the elements of danger

which disturbed Synesius were already in existence, but they remained inactive, kept down by the firmness of Theodosius. Three years later, though, in January, 395, Theodosius died, and the dam broke in the East. In that very month, Alaric led his Goths against Constantinople. The Pretorian Prefect Rufinus, humbling himself by going to the Gothic camp dressed as a German, persuaded Alaric to withdraw, but he withdrew only to plunder Macedonia, Thessaly, Greece and Epirus. Saved once by Rufinus and another time by the perhaps deliberate laxity of Stilicho, Alaric had, at the time Synesius spoke, been bought off temporarily by receiving the appointment of *magister militum per Illyricum*, a position which put him in the happy situation of maintaining himself and his people at public expense while playing off one half of the Empire against the other.

To return, however, to 395, the Huns raided Thrace in January and in the summer broke through the Caspian Gates, crossed Armenia, besieged Antioch and ravaged Asia Minor. Later in this same eventful year, Rufinus was hewn to pieces in the presence of the Emperor Arcadius by the soldiers of Gainas, a Gothic general who had been instigated by Stilicho to commit the murder. The *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, the eunuch Eutropius, succeeding to the power of Rufinus though not to his office, undertook a campaign against the Huns and, to vary this series of disasters, drove those still formidable enemies back across the Caucasus. In this he was helped by Tribigild, another Gothic officer. But Tribigild, feeling himself insufficiently recompensed by Eutropius, revolted and campaigned with varying, but on the whole increasing, success in Asia Minor, much helped by slaves who fled to him and by Germanic soldiers in the Roman armies who deserted to him, but seriously endangered at times by the resistance of the local population. In the meantime, Gainas had been appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the

Empire in the East (*comes et magister utriusque militiae*). Not only had he used his power to strengthen his position by bringing many more Goths into the Empire and by increasing the number of Gothic officers in the imperial armies, but he had been so conspicuously unsuccessful in fighting Tribigild that he was suspected of being in collusion with the rebel.³⁹

With the crisis, though, came the reaction. Not only Synesius in Cyrenaica, but a powerful party in the capital, with support throughout the Empire, had come to feel that it was imperative to expel the barbarian masses from the Roman armies, and the barbarian leaders from positions of civil and military command. This party came into power with the fall of Eutropius in 399, and Aurelian, one of the leaders of the movement, took office as Pretorian Prefect of the East. The speech of his supporter, Synesius, the envoy from Cyrene, was evidently the official declaration of policy of the new government, the first dramatic step in the reaction that, for all the immediate difficulties that it caused, was to save the Empire in the East and make possible its preservation for a millennium.

Aurelian now proceeded to put into effect the policies advocated in the oration of Synesius: he reduced taxes, including those of Cyrene; he encouraged education and learning; he beautified and enlarged the cities of the Empire; he selected capable and upright officials. Synesius, in compensation for his services, was relieved of his curial obligations.⁴⁰ In view of the policy announced by Synesius, it is entirely possible that Aurelian also took measures designed to increase the Roman levies, to reduce the barbarian forces in the Roman armies and to replace the barbarian officers by Roman ones. In fact, Synesius tells us that Aurelian was suspected by Gainas of doing these things, and it is difficult to suppose that the suspicion was unjustified.⁴¹

Gainas, then, was suspicious. He gave one puff, and the fine new admin-

istration fell like a house of cards. Whatever his relations with Tribigild may have been before, he now openly accepted the latter's support and marched upon Constantinople. Arriving at Chalcedon, just across the Bosphorus, he refused to negotiate with anyone except Emperor Arcadius in person. The helpless monarch, anxious to save his capital, crossed the strait. It was agreed that Caesarius, the brother of Aurelian but his political rival, should be made pretorian prefect and that Gainas should occupy Constantinople with his troops, as *magister militum praesentalis*.

The bayonet seems not to have come into use until the eighteenth century, but, if the reader will pardon the anachronism, Gainas soon learnt the truth of Napoleon's saying that the one thing one cannot do with bayonets is sit on them. He and his army were in Constantinople: there was no resistance to them, but he could not think of any way to make real use of his position. Nearly a century later, Theodoric put into practice the ideal of Ataulf: a state in which a German king and army would control and protect a civilized, Roman administration and society. Gaiseric, midway in time between Gainas and Theodoric, used the magnificent position of Carthage to found a pirate state. Gainas, in the even finer position of Constantinople and in possession of the heart of the Empire, was probably prevented by that very fact from conceiving the idea of setting up a kingdom hostile to the Empire, and was incapable of understanding the ideal of Ataulf and Theodoric—to say nothing of realizing it. The closest comparison is perhaps with his contemporary, Alaric, who could ravage Greece and the Balkans, march up and down Italy, sack Rome, but, lacking Africa, could not even provision his own troops. Gainas, to be sure, was better off than that: if Constantinople itself was to be provisioned (and Arcadius had no Ravenna in which

to take refuge while leaving Rome to starve), then Gainas and his Goths would be fed.

What then? They were clumsy barbarians in a hostile, highly civilized city. Hated, tricked, tormented, no doubt murdered in back alleys whenever opportunity offered, they probably underwent much the experience which befell the Germans during their occupation of Italy during the last war. More, the situation was envenomed by religion: the inhabitants of Constantinople were fanatically orthodox, the barbarians were Arians. John Chrysostom had already assigned them a church in which to hold services in Gothic; he had even preached there himself, making use of an interpreter. These services, though, were of course orthodox. The Goths, supported by Caesarius, requested the use of a church within the city walls in which they might hold Arian services. This would be a pollution of the sacred city, and St. Chrysostom opposed them face to face in the presence of Arcadius. Though the demand was dropped—or at least, not pushed to a conclusion—yet the injection of religion into the already tense situation stimulated the public to the highest pitch of excitement. The inevitable comet appeared in the heavens.

The Goths became subject to panics, believing that hostile soldiers were being secretly introduced into Constantinople. At one moment, they would threaten to burn or sack the city; at another, they would flee from intangible but terrifying enemies. Matters reached such a point that Gainas determined to evacuate the capital. With his family and a large part of his army, he encamped some miles outside the walls and attempted to dominate the city from there.

Shortly afterwards, on July 12, 400, while another contingent of Gothic forces was evacuating the capital, a riot broke out at one of the gates between the soldiers and the townspeople.

The citizens succeeded in seizing the gates and in holding them against both the Goths within and those without. Inside the city, they hunted the hapless barbarians, now in utter panic, through the streets. Many of them were slain as they fled, but a great part of them laid down their arms and took refuge in their church. The infuriated mob, apparently encouraged by Arcadius, set the building on fire, and the wretched suppliants were burnt.

Gainas and his surviving followers, after an unsuccessful attempt to cross the Hellespont to Asia Minor, withdrew across the Danube. Here he was defeated and killed by Uldin, a chieftain of the Huns, who sent his head to Constantinople. It was paraded through the streets on a pike on January 3, 401.

The Empire in the East had not seen the last of the barbarians, nor even of the Goths. Not so many years later, the great Patrician, Aspar, himself of mixed Gothic and Alan blood, supported by a large Gothic following, occupied a position comparable to that which Stilicho had held, even succeeding in procuring the elevation of his son, Patricius, to the rank of Caesar. About the same time, Theodoric the Amal and Theodoric Strabo, both Gothic chieftains, ravaged Thrace and the Balkans, and more than once threatened the capital. Never, though, were these or any other barbarian leaders able fully to restore the position which Gainas had failed to maintain. The emperors were always able to play off their dangerously powerful supporters against each other or to build up new forces to hold them in check. The crisis of the East was over; the defeat of Gainas was as decisive as the Sicilian Vespers.

Aurelian was recalled and replaced Caesarius as pretorian prefect, but only after a considerable interval, in 402. Seeck is surely right in supposing that the final overthrow of Caesarius was due to the weakening of the position of Stilicho by Alaric's invasion of

Italy;⁴² it may be, also, that the position of Caesarius was shaken not only because of the lessened influence of Stilicho, but because, with Gainas dead and Alaric definitely committed to an Italian war, there was less need for a conciliatory policy towards the remaining barbarians.

This new reversal of fortune brought the long mission of Synesius to a successful conclusion: the benefits which Aurelian had conferred and Caesarius had revoked were reaffirmed. The envoy, however, took French leave of his benefactors: during the great earthquake of 402, he fled in terror to a ship bound for Alexandria and sailed without seeing his friends, except for one, to whom he shouted and waved from a distance.⁴³

It is entirely certain from the *De Regno*, the *De Providentia* and *Hymn* 3 that Synesius grasped the full significance of these events. We should, perhaps, take special note of two passages, because of their bearing on his future. In *De Providentia* 18, Synesius tells us that God revealed to the philosopher (himself) that the tyranny would not last long and that the giants (the barbarians) would be cast out whenever "those now in power shall attempt to introduce innovations in our religious rites . . ." and that Typho (Caesarius) himself would fall shortly afterwards. The other passage is in *Hymn* 3 (Terzaghi, 1). Synesius tells us that while he was in Thrace, he

visited as many temples as were builded for Thy holy ceremonies. . . . I supplicated the gods that labour, even as many as hold the fruitful plain of Thrace, and those who on the other side rule the Chalcedonian pastures, whom Thou, O King, hast crowned with Thy annunciating beams, to be Thy sacred ministers. The blessed ones have indeed taken to them my supplications, they have engaged in many labours with me.

Now, in spite of the references to "gods" and "temples," so typical of the hymns of Synesius, this hymn was written when Synesius was already a

Christian bishop.⁴⁴ The "temples" therefore must have been Christian churches and the "gods" their patron saints—to say nothing of the fact that open worship in pagan temples in Constantinople would have been quite impossible at that time. What are our passages, then, other than clear recognition by Synesius that the orthodox Christian Church had proved the most effective force of resistance against the barbarians, the necessary support, therefore, of that classicism, that Hellenism to which his life was dedicated?

After stopping briefly at Alexandria, Synesius proceeded to Cyrene, presumably to give an account of his mission.⁴⁵ There, too, he remained for a short time only, returning once more to Alexandria, this time for a longer visit—an important one, since it was during this stay that he married. Theophilus, the formidable Bishop of Alexandria, officiated at the ceremony.⁴⁶ Vasiliev believes that Synesius had already become a Christian at this time, and Fitzgerald envisages this as a possibility.⁴⁷ It seems much more probable that it was his wife who was a Christian, not, as yet, Synesius; that Theophilus, destroyer of the Serapeum though he was, would himself marry a Christian woman to a pagan provided that the pagan was Synesius—Synesius, one of the most prominent citizens of Cyrenaica; Synesius, the friend of courtiers, cabinet ministers and generals, of governors and prefects; Synesius, the admired philosopher, scientist and writer; above all, Synesius, the favored disciple of Hypatia. Such a convert justified a little subtlety and a little time; in a few years we shall meet the Patriarch angling again.

A son was born of Synesius' marriage while he was still in Alexandria, but in 405 we find him back in Cyrenaica with his wife and child. The barbarian tribes from the desert were attacking as usual, and he personally led the defence of his estate against them, scouting at dawn, conducting patrols

at night, thankful for archers from a neighboring town to defend access to wells and stream. We find him assembling weapons, criticizing inadequate leaders, praising good ones, urging his brother to resist.⁴⁸ The war seems not to have been continuous, but rather a series of yearly raids at harvest time. Perhaps, as Seeck thinks,⁴⁹ the barbarians were encouraged by the ineptitude of the Roman leaders who conducted operations after the expulsion of the German officers from the army. Certainly there is much in the letters of Synesius, anti-German though he was, to support this view, but we also find him praising some of the officers and even praising barbarian troops when under capable leaders able to keep them in hand.⁵⁰ It may be, also, as we have already suggested, that the nomadic tribes were beginning to acquire greater mobility through the use of the camel, being able to attack more unexpectedly and in greater force than had formerly been possible, and to retreat more rapidly and, if necessary, to more remote oases. Whatever the explanation, the desert tribes seem to have ravaged the countryside every year, reducing the landowners to take refuge in their fortified villas, capturing at least some of these and some of the smaller towns, and at times besieging even major cities. On one occasion, Synesius speaks not only of the desperate state of Cyrenaica, but of danger to Alexandria itself.⁵¹

The spasmodic nature of the war, though, left Synesius at least some time to continue his letters and his literary work. We find him sending three completed compositions, the *Dio*, the *De Insomniis* and the essay addressed to Count Paeonius on the gift of an astrolabe, to Hypatia for her approval, the two former being hitherto unpublished works and the third having been written during the stay of Synesius in Constantinople.⁵² It is to this period, too, that, following Lacombrade, we ascribe the letters to his brother, describing

the education of the latter's son and telling of the birth of two more sons of his own, twins, and also one telling his brother of the dismissal of the rascally trainer in athletics.⁵³ Nevertheless, he complains that the wars interfere with his writing and even with his beloved hunting.⁵⁴

War and politics, though, were soon to cause him far greater hardships than these. His property near Cyrene was occupied by the barbarians, and they used his house—no doubt a great fortified villa such as we see in the magnificent mosaics at the Bardo in Tunis—as “a base whence to menace Cyrene.”⁵⁵ Not only that. His political enemies succeeded in driving him away from Cyrene itself: “I mourn over the famous site of Cyrene, in the past the abode of the Carneadae and of the Aristippi, but now of the Joannes and the Julii. In their society I cannot live with pleasure, and so I live away from it with pleasure.”⁵⁶ In another letter, we find him indignantly repelling his brother's attempt to reconcile him with Julius.⁵⁷ We may suppose, with Lacombrade,⁵⁸ that he withdrew to Ptolemaïs, the capital and the metropolitan see of the province. His withdrawal, though, proved to be no retirement: his prestige and his services made it impossible for him to leave the field to his opponents even if he wished to—which one may doubt. The next reasonably certain date in his life is his election as Bishop of Ptolemaïs, in the summer of 410.⁵⁹

We have already written of the paramount importance of the bishop to the people of his city at the beginning of the fourth century, especially as their defender against oppressive officials and against the barbarians. It is evident that Synesius was chosen precisely because he had shown himself such a staunch opponent of the barbarians, such a courageous defender of the local interests against oppression by corrupt and grasping officials, both civil and military, such an effec-

tive advocate of Cyrene and of the province before the Throne itself. As for personal benefactions, Synesius seems to have been a generous master to his slaves and a generous friend to his equals, and above all a liberal and public-spirited citizen.⁶⁰

These were obvious reasons for selecting Synesius as bishop, and the fact that he was known to be generous and public-spirited was a good reason for supposing that he would accept the position. He must, further, have been swayed by his experiences in Constantinople, by the fact that the orthodox Christian Church had proved to be the crystallizing element around which grew the forces of resistance to Gainas and his barbarians. There were, though, four obstacles. Synesius had achieved a nice balance of life between public service, literature and philosophy, and sports—especially hunting. He very genuinely felt that the chase and outdoor life were indispensable to his well-being. In a letter to his brother—one which he asked his brother to make public and especially to bring to the attention of Theophilus⁶¹—he wrote of his love of arms, horses, dogs and hunting, but said that he would resign himself to giving them up “if it is the will of God.” Second, though he detested lawsuits and quarrels, he would nevertheless do his best to perform the administrative duties of bishop so long as strength was given him to do so.⁶² Third, he was a married man—indeed, as he points out, he had been married by Theophilus himself—and had no intention of living apart from his wife: “I will not be separated from her, nor shall I associate with her surreptitiously like an adulterer; . . . I shall desire and pray to have many virtuous children.” Finally, and most serious of all, there were grave theological difficulties:⁶³

I can never persuade myself that the soul is of more recent origin than the body. Never would I admit that the world and the parts which make it up must perish. This resur-

rection, which is an object of common belief, is nothing for me but a sacred and mysterious allegory, and I am far from sharing the views of the vulgar crowd thereon. . . . Just as the eye would be injured by an excess of light, and just as darkness is more helpful to those of weak eyesight, even so do I consider that the false may be beneficial to the populace, and the truth injurious to those not strong enough to gaze steadfastly on the radiance of real being. If the laws of the priesthood that obtain with us permit these views to me, I can take over the holy office on condition that I may prosecute philosophy at home and spread legends abroad, so that if I teach no doctrine, at all events I undo no teaching, and allow men to remain in their already acquired convictions. . . . No, if I am called to the priesthood, I declare before God and man that I refuse to preach dogmas in which I do not believe. Truth is an attribute of God, and I wish in all things to be blameless before Him.

In short, Synesius was still a Neo-Platonist in many of his convictions and would not agree to preach any doctrines inconsistent with them.

The struggle was not an easy one. It lasted for more than six months, while Synesius, presumably in Alexandria, tried to secure some declaration that would allow him to reconcile acceptance of the episcopate "with my school of thought and sect."⁶⁴ He realized that he could not refuse the episcopate and still return to the Pentapolis; he thought of going to Greece. In fact, though, he was consecrated bishop, probably some time during the first three months of 411.⁶⁵

It has been argued that Synesius did not give way either in the matter of separating from his wife or in his theological position,⁶⁶ but this view has not been generally accepted, and Lacombrade, his most recent biographer, shares the opinion that Synesius yielded to Theophilus, "humain, trop humain, le coeur gros d'amertume mais éperdu de bonne volonté." He takes *Epistle 11*, written by Synesius to the elders of the Church of Ptolemais directly after his consecration, to be an expression of this attitude.⁶⁷ *Epistle*

11 is indeed an expression of the new bishop's attitude, but that attitude seems not one of a man who has either been converted as to the theological points at issue or who has sacrificed his moral position:

I was unable, for all my strength, to prevail against you and to decline the bishopric, and this in spite of all my machinations; nor is it to your will that I have now yielded. Rather was it a divine force which brought about the delay then, as it has caused my acceptance now. . . . If I am not forsaken by God, I shall then know that this office of Priesthood is not a decline from the realms of philosophy, but, on the contrary, a step upwards to them.

The delay, in short, has proved useful, and apparently in the sense that Synesius had wished: he believed it would be possible to "prosecute philosophy at home and spread legends abroad," to reconcile the acceptance of the episcopate "with my school of thought and sect." The matter becomes clearer when we read *Epistle 13*. In that letter, Synesius informs Peter, the Elder, that he has just sent a carrier to Peter "with the Paschal letters, announcing the date of the holy festival . . . so that the night which precedes the day in question may also be consecrated to the mystery of the Resurrection" (*to anastásimon . . . mustérion*). In the same letter, he refers to this festival as "an old ancestral custom of the Church" (*éthos archaion kai pátrion*). He concludes, "If I can say none of the things you are accustomed to hear, there must be forgiveness for me and blame to yourselves, for instead of choosing one deep in the knowledge of the scriptures, you have selected one who is ignorant of them." (His profession of ignorance was of course merely a polite excuse for his refusal to deliver an Easter sermon: he had been discussing the theological point with Theophilus for more than six months.) Is not this the very language one might expect from a Synesius who had in the end obtained the theological concessions which he required of Theophilus?

And is it not on one of the very points concerning which he had made his reservations? Synesius was upset by the material requirements of his office, but there is no passage that we have been able to find in his writings that is not consistent with the theological reservations which he made in his letter to his brother.

On the other hand, though we have no proof, there is reason to believe that he did separate from his wife. That, with the possible exception of *Hymn* 8, he never mentioned her after he became bishop is scarcely a convincing argument, because he mentioned her only three times in all the works and letters that have come down to us. First, when he was about to go into battle, he wrote to his brother that he would find it difficult to leave his wife and child.⁶⁸ Second, as we have just seen, he wrote that he could not agree to become bishop if that should entail separation from his wife. Third, he mentioned his wife in *Hymn* 8. The question, for all practical purposes, turns solely on whether *Hymn* 8 was written before or after Synesius became bishop and, if written after, whether it implies that he had separated from his wife. We have seen that Synesius had three sons, one born in Alexandria and the other two, twins, born in Cyrenaica. We shall see that one of the three died very shortly after the consecration of Synesius. In the hymn, Synesius appears to refer to his two sons. Since he was never in the position of having two sons only until after one of the three had died, this seems to date the hymn to a time subsequent to his consecration. There is a possibility, if one is willing to make a not unpalatable emendation of the text, that Synesius is not referring to two sons, but to two sisters, but it is not the traditional reading, and we must consider the hymn at least as likely to have been written after the consecration as before it.⁶⁹ The relevant passage is:

... the partner of my marriage bed, O King, keep Thou from illness and harm, united to me, of one mind with me; preserve my wife in ignorance of clandestine associates. May she maintain a holy couch, unsullied, pious, inaccessible to unlawful desires.

(It will be noted that the word *Erieron* which Fitzgerald has translated "united to me" can as well mean "faithful" — and even "united to me" does not necessarily imply physical union.) The passage has been interpreted as evidence that Synesius was "époux heureux et père comblé" at the time he wrote it.⁷⁰ To us, on the contrary, it seems to show a man separated from his wife against his will and hoping that she will remain faithful to the marriage which has been so arbitrarily and indecently terminated. If this understanding of the hymn be correct, then Synesius did separate from his wife.

However all this may be, the fact that the objections were made and maintained either for the rest of the good bishop's life or at the very least for more than six months — this shows that Synesius, though a deeply religious man, was not moved to accept the office because of any burning zeal for the orthodox theology. Rather, he became bishop for reasons of patriotism, out of a sense of duty. As Wilamowitz well says,⁷¹ "Der an Besitz, Ansehen und Mut erste Notable der Provinz, fand in dem Bischofsamt die Stelle, von der aus er seine Heimat verteidigen konnte."

Synesius was now entering upon the last years of his life. They were marked by a bitter political struggle; by the varying, occasionally almost desperate, fortunes of war; by conscientious but often distasteful performance of the duties of his episcopal office; by deep personal sorrows; by ill-health.

At the time of his return as bishop, the state of the province appears to have been more favorable than it had been for many years. Gennadius, the civil governor, had given the Penta-

polis a mild yet capable administration; the *dux*, Anysius, had proved a brilliant officer and had brought the campaign with the barbarians to a successful close, at least for the time being. Unfortunately, Gennadius was about to be replaced by Andronicus, a man for whom Synesius had done some favors, but one of whom he had the poorest possible opinion, one who, though a Cyrenaican by birth, had been hostile to the interests of Ptolemais in the past. Now, even before arriving in the province, he was instigating an unjustified prosecution of Gennadius, the departing governor, for embezzlement of public funds. Synesius wrote to his friend Troilus at Constantinople, requesting him to intervene with the Pretorian Prefect Anthemius to secure the revocation of the appointment, partly on the ground that such a man as Andronicus would make a bad governor, partly on the ground that, as a native of Cyrenaica, he could not legally administer the province, since Anthemius himself had caused a new law to be promulgated forbidding that any province should be governed by one of its own natives. More, he had bought his office.⁷²

When Andronicus arrived, he fully justified the fears of Synesius. He proved a merciless tax-gatherer, scourging and torturing the *curiales*, bullying them into selling estates to his supporters, oppressing his personal enemies. He was, in short, just such a governor as Synesius had inveighed against in his address to Arcadius.⁷³

Synesius, the *curialis* and ambassador, had denounced such oppression before the emperor; Synesius, the bishop, fought Andronicus both at court and on the spot. He now tried to secure the recall of the Governor through another friend, Anastasius, the tutor of the children of Arcadius. In Cyrenaica, he boldly supported the victims, he went to comfort his friend, Leucippus, when the latter was subjected to torture by the Governor in the full

glare of the African noon.⁷⁴ This act provoked the Governor to blasphemy, and Synesius was quick to seize his advantage and to draw up a formal excommunication of his enemy. Lacombrade points out that in this matter Synesius may have gone rather beyond the letter of the law.⁷⁵ However that may be, the step checked Andronicus, though not permanently. The Governor at once promised to moderate his conduct, and Synesius, yielding to the unanimous recommendation of his clergy, suspended publication of the decree of excommunication. But the leopard did not change its spots: Magnus, the son of a man of senatorial rank, but himself a *curialis*, died in consequence of a scourging inflicted by order of Andronicus. Synesius now published his decree of excommunication.⁷⁶

Andronicus of Berenice let no man call a Christian. . . . Let the precincts of no house of God be open to Andronicus and his associates. . . . Let every sanctuary and enclosure be shut in their faces. . . . I exhort therefore every private individual and ruler not to be under the same roof with them, nor to be seated at the same table, particularly priests, for these shall neither speak to them while living, nor join in their funeral processions when dead. Furthermore, if any one shall flout the authority of this church on the ground that it represents a small town only, and shall receive those who have been excommunicated by it, for that he need not obey that which is without wealth, let such a one know that he is creating a schism in the Church which Christ wishes to be one. Such a man, whether he be deacon, presbyter, or bishop, shall share the fate of Andronicus at our hands, and neither shall we give him our right hand, nor ever eat at the same table with him, and far be it from us to hold communion in the holy mysteries with those desiring to take part with Andronicus and Thoas.

It will be noted that this formula called for the support not only of priests, deacons and bishops, but also of private persons and, expressly, rulers.

This weapon, destined to become so powerful, proved effective against Andronicus. Perhaps, too, the appeals

of Synesius to his friends in Constantinople had something to do with the result, and maybe Julius, the old enemy of Synesius, had his share in the matter, since he also was an opponent of the Governor. At any rate, the last we hear of Andronicus is in a letter from Synesius to Theophilus of Alexandria.⁷⁷ He writes that the misfortunes of the wretched man have been such that

the Church . . . now . . . pities him for that his experiences have exceeded the measure of her malediction. On his account we have incurred the displeasure of those now in power. . . .

So we have snatched him from the fell tribunal here, and have in other respects greatly mitigated his sufferings. If your sacred person judges that this man is worthy of any interest, I shall welcome this as a signal proof that God has not yet entirely abandoned him.

It is evident that Synesius had actually removed Andronicus from the custody of the civilian authorities, who were trying him for his misdeeds, and sent him to Theophilus, leaving it to the latter, apparently, to release him from the excommunication which Synesius had pronounced against him and to protect him from further prosecution. Perhaps Synesius, who had borne the brunt of the struggle, did not wish to leave the prestige of success to the lay authorities and especially not to his old antagonist, Julius, but even if such motives may have entered into his action, we are, one feels, justified in supposing that the mercy of which he spoke was the principal reason for it. When we consider some of his other actions as bishop, we shall see that moderation, reasonableness and mercy were characteristic of them.

It is unexpected to see a provincial bishop daring at this early date to excommunicate an imperial governor; interesting to find that the excommunication proved effective; startling to see the victorious bishop dare to remove the disgraced governor from the custody of the lay court. Fascinating,

too, from a slightly different point of view, to hear this same bishop, in his denunciation of the upstart, Andronicus, refer to his own descent from "Eurys-thenes who settled the Dorians in Sparta."⁷⁸ It is, though, no less important to realize that the struggle between the two men really had nothing to do with the Church. Synesius had been compelled to accept the episcopal office because the people felt him to be their natural protector against invasion and oppression. Andronicus represented the tyrannical bureaucracy that was attempting to enrich its members no doubt, but also to preserve the Empire at the cost of the curial class. Synesius was defending that class (to which he himself belonged) because he felt it to be the true representative of the classical tradition, of the old life of the *polis* and the *municipium*. In the course of this basically lay quarrel, Synesius saw an opportunity to use ecclesiastical weapons against his opponent: he did not hesitate to use them — indeed, we have seen that he wished to proceed to extremes more quickly than his clergy would allow — and with devastating effectiveness.

One final period of desperate warfare darkened the last years of Synesius. Anysius, the successful general, had been replaced not long after Synesius had returned to Ptolemaïs as bishop. He seems to have been followed by Innocentius, a well-intentioned but ineffective commander. Synesius, bishop though he was, stood watch upon the walls of Ptolemaïs, placed pickets at night, prepared (so he said) at one moment to flee across the sea, at another to die beside the altar of his church. What he did do in fact was to send an extremely dramatic appeal to one of his friends with a request that the latter should have the desperate situation brought to the attention of the imperial council. It was quite possibly in response to the appeal of Synesius that a new commander, Marcellinus, was dispatched to help the beleaguered provincials. If so, Synesius had performed a last and very great

service for the Pentapolis: Marcellinus completely routed the enemy and restored peace throughout the region.⁷⁹

Through war and peace, political reverses and political success, Synesius continued to perform his purely ecclesiastical duties. We have noticed that he forebore from giving theological instruction in connection with the celebration of Easter; when some Eunomian missionaries became active in his see, he appears to have consulted St. Isidore of Pelusium, probably an old friend from Alexandrian days, before decreeing that they should be expelled. And even then he insisted that they were not to be plundered, but should be allowed to take back across the frontier all property they had brought with them. He composed disputed episcopal elections; he settled quarrels between bishops concerning property; he healed quarrels between priests—in reporting some of these to Theophilus, his ecclesiastical superior, he expressly refrained from mentioning names and requested Theophilus, if the latter should guess the identity of the priests involved, still to refrain from naming them in his reply, since Synesius wished to rebuke them in private only. He encouraged the election of a worthy candidate as bishop and requested Theophilus to consecrate him; he urged that a technical defect should not be used as a reason for unseating a bishop who had held his office for many years, one beloved by his congregation; he treated with personal kindness and respect—though not recognizing him as a bishop in church—a bishop who had been expelled from his see for having sided with St. John Chrysostom against Theophilus, and referred to Chrysostom with marked respect even when writing to Theophilus himself; he suggested that this bishop and others in similar situations should return to their sees, now that peace had been restored in the Church, and that they should not be accorded episcopal honors if they chose not to return. He founded a monastery—Neo-Platonist or Christian, he

was still devoted to the life of contemplation; it may well be that he hoped to be allowed to resign his charge and to retire there. In short, he was inclined to avoid theological disputes and in all matters of practical administration to advocate neither unnecessarily drastic measures nor weakness nor evasion, but rational, moderate, humane courses of action. He was, we believe, a highly unorthodox Christian, but an exceptionally good one.⁸⁰

The last years of his life, then, were successful so far as external matters were concerned. He performed his ecclesiastical duties well, at the sacrifice of his affections and his favorite pastimes, but not at the sacrifice of his principles. Politically, he was very conspicuously successful; he seems to have had much to do with bringing the war against the barbarians to a successful conclusion.⁸¹ On the other hand, this period was a time of suffering and great sorrow for him. We have seen that, in all probability, he accepted, though sadly, separation from his wife. All three of his sons, of whom he had such hopes, died during the years of his episcopate. One of them, indeed, died just before he arrived in Ptolemais after his consecration.⁸² He lost the friendship of Anastasius⁸³ and that of Hypatia herself.⁸⁴ Further, he was in ill-health.⁸⁵ He seems to have survived Theophilus, who died on October 15, 412, but probably by very little, since we have no letters addressed to the new Patriarch, Cyril.⁸⁶ Let us quote his last, sad letter to Hypatia:⁸⁷

I salute you, and I beg of you to salute your most happy comrades for me, august Mistress. I have long been reproaching you that I am not deemed worthy of a letter, but now I know that I am despised by you all for no wrongdoing on my part, but because I am unfortunate in many things, in as many as a man can be. If I could only have had letters from you and learnt how you were all faring—I am sure you are happy and enjoying good fortune—I should have been relieved, in that case, of half my own trouble, in rejoicing at your happiness. But

now your silence has been added to the sum of my sorrows. I have lost my children, my friends, and the goodwill of every one. The greatest loss of all, however, is the absence of your divine spirit. I had hoped that this would always remain to me, to conquer both the caprices of fortune and the evil turns of fate.

One thing, at least, Synesius was spared: there is no reason whatever to believe that he survived to hear of the horrid death of Hypatia in 415 at the hands of the fanatical Christian mob of Alexandria.

Such was the life of Synesius. Why have we coupled him with Rutilius Namatianus and Paulinus of Nola? Why have we chosen, to illustrate this article (see the frontispiece), a gorgon's head of white marble, once part of an old Doric temple at Cyrene and later incorporated into a Byzantine fountain? Rutilius, it seems to us, felt clearly the incompatibility of classical civilization and the Christian religion. We have tried to support our belief that, fiercely loyal to Rome and the old way of life, he felt deep within himself that Rome was destined to perish and the new religion to triumph. But even if Rutilius wholeheartedly believed that it was Rome that would survive, he certainly did not believe that considerable elements of classicism would survive precisely through the Christian Church. Paulinus, also, the favored pupil of Ausonius, felt the two paths to be incompatible, and, on becoming converted to an active Christianity, chose asceticism and renounced his literary friends, his political prospects and his civic responsibilities. Yet force of circumstances compelled him, like Synesius — and at just about the same time — to accept consecration as bishop and to do his best to protect his people — and, in doing so, no doubt to preserve elements of the classical life against the barbarian tide. But even in this emergency, he remained a pacifist, and when it became necessary for him actually to face the barbarians in person, fulfilled his boast.⁸⁸

nos crucis invictae signum et confessio
munit,
armatique deo mentem non quaerimus
arma
corporis; . . .

Synesius, the contemporary of them both, made a different and more prophetic choice than either. Even after he had become Bishop of Ptolemais, he still kept watch against the enemy, he still set out pickets at night. One feels that he found it difficult not to take, any longer, a direct part in the fighting. He still praised and encouraged successful generals, and appealed to the Consistory for help when the military situation appeared desperate. Nor did his assumption of the office of bishop appear to him inconsistent with political activity: the great event in local politics after his consecration as bishop was the overthrow of Andronicus — it is an extraordinary combination of the old and the new to find Synesius boasting of his descent from Eurysthenes in the very address in which he announces the excommunication of the Governor. Both before and after his conversion, Synesius remained without sympathy for fanaticism; both before and after, he attached real importance to style in writing. As a young man, he wrote to Hypatia to ask whether she thought his writings worthy of Greek ears.⁸⁹ As a bishop, he warned that God attached no importance to inspired diction or "literary pettiness":⁹⁰ *oudèn mélei tōi theōi theophoré-tou léxeos. pneūma theion huperorāi mikrolōgion sungraphikén*. But his own diction is certainly not inelegant in this very passage. It was as bishop, too, that he wrote to Theophilus, complimenting him on the style of a Paschal letter.⁹¹ Once more, it was in a report to Theophilus that Synesius apologized for using a Latinism.⁹²

In short, Synesius, both before and after his conversion, was not only a classical figure, but perhaps more truly so than most of his contemporaries — at least, than those of his contemporaries that we know about. Though Rutilius felt it his duty to return to his

native Gaul, Rome was the unquestioned center of his interests; Paulinus lived in Gaul, Spain and Italy without, so far as we can see, any sense of being more at home in one of these regions than another—if he preferred Nola, it was only because the tomb of St. Felix was there. To Synesius, Constantinople was exile;⁹³ Athens indifferent;⁹⁴ even Alexandria and Hypatia could not draw him away, though they tempted him, from Cyrene.⁹⁵ Cyrene and Cyrenaica were his life; he lived for his polis as truly as any Greek of the high classical era, and, as truly as any of them, stood for and represented in himself the classical interest in balance and beauty, in moderation and good sense.

In character and interests, then, Synesius, though he lived as late as the fifth century A.D., was the embodiment of classical Cyrene. And it was his very devotion to the classical spirit that led him, in spite of intellectual and personal difficulties, to grasp at the Christian Church as the only possible supporter of civilization, classical or otherwise, in the time in which he lived. Rutilius and Paulinus of Nola had each of them understood that Christianity was incompatible with classical civilization in its pure form, and each took his stand accordingly, the one rejecting Christianity and the other his classical past. Synesius did neither: he deliberately took the old Doric acroterion and, painfully for himself, transformed it into the Byzantine fountain, from which the spring of classicism continued to refresh the eminently Christian State, which, in turn, protected and developed civilization for another thousand years.

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(Florence, 1957) s.v. "Zampogna." It may be much older, but there is no doubt that the instrument was known to the Greeks and Romans; *The British Encyclopaedia*, 11th ed. (1910) vol. 3, pp. 205 f.; *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed. (London and New York, 1954) vol. 1, p. 353.

⁹³ Eusebius, *H. E.* 6. 19.

⁹⁴ *Epist.* 101. Cf. *Epist.* 91.

⁹⁵ *Epist.* 11. 54.

⁹⁶ Cf. Sergio Mochi Onory, *Vescovi e Città* (Bologna, 1933).

⁹⁷ Most of the civil officers of the new governments were of course Romans and no doubt followed, so far as conditions permitted, the old system of administration: a Goth, wishing to acquire some land near Bordeaux that had been abandoned many years before by Paulinus of Pella, found it necessary to seek him out at Marseilles in order to buy it from him (Paulinus, *Eucharisticon* 575). For all that, conditions became steadily more barbarous. The new masters had neither the means nor, probably, often the desire to maintain their administrations at the old level: Alaric II had to simplify the Roman code; Paulinus of Pella could not live near Marseilles (in Roman territory) and still receive income from lands near Bordeaux (in Visigothic territory), although his son, returning to Bordeaux, managed to recover part of the property (*ibid.* 498). Sidonius Apollinaris, writing to his friend Arbogast, referred to the latter as one of the last upholders of the Latin tongue along the Rhine (Sidonius, *Epist.* 4. 17). Gregory of Tours, like Sidonius, belonged to a senatorial family from Auvergne, but, writing a century later, he used a Latin that would have scandalized Sidonius. Gregory's contemporary, Venantius Fortunatus, was a good Latinist, but he had been born in northern Italy and educated in Ravenna.

⁹⁸ One suspects that the particularly bad reputation of the Vandals comes less from their having sacked Rome or from their other raids than from the fact that they treated the Church and the Roman landowners far more harshly than the Goths, Franks, Burgundians and other barbarians had done. Yet even in Vandal Africa, we find such a bishop as Fulgentius of Ruspe. We note, too, that harsher though the Vandals were than the other barbarians, the father of Fulgentius had been able to recover part of the family property, and that the young Fulgentius had received an excellent education in Greek and Latin. See Jülicher in *RE*, vol 7 (1912) cols. 214 f. and sources there cited.

⁹⁹ *Epist.* 9. 12. 1.

¹⁰⁰ F. Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* (Oxford, 1935) vol. 1, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ See Christian Lacombrade, *Synésios de Cyrène, Hellène et Chrétien* (Paris, 1951) for a recent and most interesting biography, and the very complete bibliography at the back of the volume. Also, Lacombrade, *Le Discours sur la Royauté de Synésios de Cyrène à l'empereur Arcadius* (Paris, 1951). Since we shall have occasion to refer to the former very frequently, we shall write merely "Lacombrade," followed by the page number. Of special interest are the introductions to Augustine Fitzgerald's translations of the works of Synesius, *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene* (Oxford and London, 1926) and *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius*, 2 vols. (Oxford and London, 1930). In citing Fitzgerald,

¹ C. H. Coster, "Christianity and the Invasions: Two Sketches," *CJ* 54 (1959) 156.

² The peasants of the Abruzzi and Calabria still play the *zampogna* or bag-pipe. This name is said to be derived from the Greek *symphonia*; Battisti and Alessio, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano*

we shall write merely "Fitzgerald, Letters" or Fitzgerald, "Essays and Hymns," followed by the volume and page numbers for the latter and by the page number for the former. When Synesius is quoted in English, Fitzgerald's translations are used. When the letters are quoted in the original, the text of R. Hercher is used (*Epistolographi Graeci* [Paris, 1873]). When other works are quoted in the original, we follow Terzaghi (*Hymni* [Rome, 1939]; *Opuscula* [Rome, 1944]). In citing the hymns and essays, since almost all quotations are given in English, the conventional order, used in Fitzgerald, is followed; the order more recently established by Terzaghi is given in parentheses where different. Another helpful work is *The Life and Times of Synesius of Cyrene as Revealed in His Works* by the Rev. José C. Pando (Washington, D.C., 1940); references to this also will be abbreviated.

¹² At this time the curiales were being destroyed by oppressive taxation which, because of their responsibility for the collection of the full amounts demanded, fell with especial heaviness upon their group, but nevertheless Synesius and his family, and doubtless many other curiales, were still at least very comfortably off. Poor people do not send presents of ostriches (*Epist.* 129, 134) or horses (*Epist.* 40) to their friends overseas, nor would he, if he had not been very well off, have referred to himself, when the enemy seemed about to conquer the province, as once a rich man but now about to be driven into poverty-stricken exile (*Catastasis* 1572). As to family, he mentions with pride that the public monuments of Cyrene record his descent from Eurysthenes, the Heraclid who led the Dorians to Sparta (*Epist.* 57; *Catastasis* 1572. Cf. *Epist.* 124). For the position of the curiales, see the masterly summary of M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1957) vol. 1, pp. 502-32. For the financial position of Synesius, see Lacombrade, pp. 14 f.; Pando, pp. 29 ff.; C. H. Coster, "Synesius, a Curialis of the Time of the Emperor Arcadius," *Byzantion* 15 (1940-41) 14-17.

¹³ 68, 32, 1-2. Cf. Eusebius, *H. E.* 4.2 and Orosius, *Hist.* 7. 12. 6.

¹⁴ 22, 16, 4.

¹⁵ *De Regno* 2; *Epist.* 103. It should be remembered that the object of Synesius' mission to the emperor was to petition for a reduction of taxes, so that in his address he would not be likely to represent conditions in Cyrene as very prosperous.

¹⁶ Rostovtzeff (above, note 12) vol. 1, pp. 141, 308-11; Broholm, *RE*, vol. 12 (1925) cols. 156-69; Pando, pp. 14-17, 19-25, 29-33, 35-39, 99-120; C. H. Coster, "The Economic Position of Cyrenaica in Classical Times," *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson* (ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton [Princeton, 1951]) pp. 3-26.

¹⁷ The dates are purely conjectural. N. Crawford (*Synesius the Hellene* [London, 1901] pp. 8-11) argues persuasively for 360. Lacombrade (p. 13) presents the case for 370, but makes no claim to certainty. As for place, Synesius alludes to Cyrene as his mother, *Epist.* 4. That, though, can scarcely be taken as precluding the possibility of his having been born in some country place near by.

¹⁸ *Epist.* 53, 60, 111; *Dio* 1124-25.

¹⁹ Synesius used Latin technical expressions

four times, but in one case apologized to his correspondent for doing so, and in the other three explained what he understood the expressions to mean; *Epist.* 67, 79, 144, 145. This certainly implies no real understanding of Latin, but rather the contrary.

²⁰ *Epist.* 32.

²¹ *Epist.* 101, 105, 154. See also *Epist.* 40, 134, 148; *De Insomniis* 9. A good historical novel often stimulates the imagination more than bits and pieces of learning. If Kingsley, in spite of the quotation in the text, takes something of a liberty in putting a theological justification of hunting into the mouth of the "quire-bishop," he gives a stirring picture of Synesius on an ostrich hunt and in a skirmish with the barbarians (*Hypatia*, chapter "The Squire-Bishop").

²² Synesius tells us that he greatly increased the number of books he had inherited: *Dio* 13. As he was a younger son, it seems unlikely that the whole of his father's library passed to him.

²³ None of the letters mentions them as living; he was most closely bound to his elder brother, Eupotius, to whom he addressed forty of the one hundred fifty-nine letters that have come down to us. In *Epist.* 8, he mentions that they had the same parents, were brought up together and received their education together. If their parents had not died while they were very young, it would surely have been more natural to say that their parents had brought them up together.

²⁴ Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 7. 15; Suidas, under the name Hypatia.

²⁵ *Epist.* 10, 15, 16, 81, 124, 154, 137; *Hymns* 1, 3, 5. Cf. *Egyptian Tale* 9; *Dio* 7. See Lacombrade (pp. 36-71) for an interesting and detailed analysis of the teachings of Hypatia and the studies of Synesius. Lacombrade rightly emphasizes the extent of his scientific knowledge. He also believes him to have been influenced to some extent by Gnostic doctrines and ways of feeling, though Plotinus and Plato himself seem to have been his principal masters. I am inclined to minimize the importance of Synesius' references to esoteric doctrines and mysteries (see especially *Epist.* 105, 137, 143; *Egyptian Tale* 9; *Dio* 5; the preface of *De Insomniis*). They seem to me largely due to his very sound belief that somewhat abstruse doctrines may easily become falsified and vicious through injudicious popularization, and partly due to the fact that doctrines and ceremonies not in accord with the legally established Christian usage were poor matter for publicity in Alexandria, where the Serapeum had only recently been destroyed by the very bishop who was before long to consecrate Synesius, where Hypatia herself was to be killed by a Christian mob a few years later.

²⁶ *Epist.* 57.

²⁷ See *CJ* 54 (1959) 146-59.

²⁸ The date is established by Lacombrade, pp. 24, 55.

²⁹ *Epist.* 146.

³⁰ Lacombrade (pp. 76 f.) argues very persuasively that letters 104, 113 and 124, describing incidents of a war with the barbarians, belong to this period, and also (pp. 78 f.) that the *Calviti Encomium* was written about the same time.

³¹ In *Epist.* 104, which Lacombrade dates as of 395, Synesius speaks of the barbarians as riding horses to battle but dismounting to fight. But in

the *Catastasis*, which Lacombrade dates as of 411 (pp. 234 f.), Synesius writes that he may flee to an island because "I distrust Egypt. Even there a camel can cross with an Ausurian hoplite on its back." In dating the use of the camel in war by the nomadic tribes at precisely this period, I am slightly modifying the view expressed by me in "The Economic Position of Cyrenaica in Classical Times," pp. 3 f. (see above, note 16). I had there written that "Not until Vandal times do we encounter what Gautier calls 'les grands nomades chameliers,' tribes capable of dominating the desert routes and of conquering the settled country—as distinct from raiding it." (The reference is to E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord* [Paris, 1937].) I had taken account of the passage in *Epist.* 104, but the passage in the *Catastasis* escaped me. It was evidently during the brief lifetime of Synesius that the transformation began.

³² As we have seen, Lacombrade argues strongly in favor of ascribing *Epist.* 104, 113 and 124 to this period; see above, note 30. It seems also almost certain that *Epist.* 122 was written at the opening of this campaign: the terms of the letter are such that it could not have been written after Synesius and the people of Cyrenaica had become accustomed to warfare and to seeing enemies slain in battle.

This is as good an occasion as any to remind the reader that all we know about the life of Synesius we know only from his own writings. He was a sincere and admirable character, but we are all inclined to see ourselves as right and our opponents as wrong. Further, Synesius had studied rhetoric and unquestionably used it, partly to present his opponents in an unfavorable light and partly to make his letters more amusing. We need not like him the less for his vitality and exuberance, but we must take them into account.

³³ *Epist.* 144, 95.

³⁴ *Epist.* 95. Lacombrade (p. 73) assumes from this letter that Synesius was a member of a provincial council, and that these activities took place there, but he does not cite any passages bearing on the matter. In an earlier paper (above, note 12) p. 30 the present writer stated his belief that they took place in the curia of Cyrene and that still seems probable to him. The texts do not make the matter entirely clear. As ambassador to Arcadius, he says, he is sent by Cyrene, a Greek city; *De Regno* 2 (Terzaghi, 3). But, writing at a later time, he says that dreams helped him to manage public affairs "in the best interests of the cities"; *De Insomniis* 9 (Terzaghi, 14). In *Hymn* 3 (Terzaghi, 1), he speaks of bearing his *matēra pātran* on his shoulders at the time of his embassy, and prays God to preserve what he had gained for the Libyans. Synesius seems to have thought of himself as envoy from Cyrene, but also to have felt that the benefits which resulted from his mission redounded to the welfare of the province as a whole.

³⁵ For the opposition of Julius, see *Epist.* 50, 95. *Epist.* 54 and 136 inform us of the visit of Synesius to Athens. The connection between this trip and the enmity of Julius is suggested by Lacombrade, p. 74.

³⁶ For the vote in the curia of Cyrene, see above, note 34. For the chronology of the stay of Synesius in Constantinople, for the interpretation of the *De Providentia*, etc., see Otto Seeck,

"Studien zu Synesios," *Philol.* 52 (1894) 442-60, a study which remains authoritative on these points, although, with Lacombrade, we do not believe that Seeck was always correct in the dates suggested by him for the letters of Synesius. We have already referred (above, note 11) to Lacombrade's recent translation of this speech, and an excellent English version is included in Fitzgerald's *Essays and Hymns*, cited in the same note. In connection with this speech, special reference should be made to J. R. Asmus, "Synesius und Dio Chrysostomus," *Byz. Ztschr.* 9 (1900) 85-151.

³⁷ Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, *Panegyricus Theodosio Augusto Dictus* 22 (Baehrens, *XII Panegyrici Latini* [Leipzig, 1874] p. 291). For the date of this panegyric (389 A.D.) see Hanslik, *RE*, vol. 18 (1943) col. 2058.

³⁸ *De Regno* 11, 14, 15.

³⁹ Since Synesius himself is our major authority for the later phases of the revolt of Gainas, it is worth mentioning that we have excellent independent authority for the statement that Tribigild was much helped by slaves who escaped to join his forces (Zosimus 5.13.4) and by Teutonic soldiers in the Roman armies who deserted to him (Zosimus 5.17.1 f.), and much hindered by the resistance of local forces (Zosimus 5.15 f.); that Gainas strengthened his position by bringing in more Goths and appointing more Gothic officers (Socrates 6.6.4; Sozomen 8.4.1; Joh. Antiochenus, frag. 190); that he was suspected of being in collusion with Tribigild (Zosimus 5.13-18; Eunapius, frag. 75, 76; Joh. Antiochenus, frag. 190; Socrates 6.6.5; Sozomen 8.4.2; Philostorgius 11.8).

⁴⁰ *De Providentia* 1.12.18; *Epist.* 100. Relief from curial obligations for at least two years was the normal reward for a curialis who had undertaken the expense of serving as an envoy to the Court. *Digest* 50.7.8.9; *Paratitlon* of Gothofridus to *Cod. Theod.* 12.12, and the laws there cited; cf. Coster (above, note 12) n. 2.

⁴¹ *De Providentia* 1.15.

⁴² In *RE*, vol. 2 (1896) col. 1150. His account of these events in his *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (vol. 5, 2nd ed. [Stuttgart, 1922] pp. 314-26) is one of the clearest to be found.

⁴³ *Epist.* 61.

⁴⁴ *Contra*, Lacombrade, p. 177. See, however, in the same hymn, "Behold now also in Thy Libya, in Thy august priesthood, a soul feeble and exhausted, one given up to holy prayers to Thee. . . ."

⁴⁵ Lacombrade, pp. 131-36. He rightly identifies *Epist.* 4 as Synesius' exuberant account of this voyage.

⁴⁶ *Epist.* 105.

⁴⁷ A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1932) vol. 1, p. 117; Fitzgerald, *Letters*, p. 31. Cf. below, note 66.

⁴⁸ For these wars, see *Epist.* 40, 57, 59, 61, 62, 89, 94, 95, 107, 108, 130, 132, 133, 134; *Constitutio*; *Catastasis*. *Epist.* 104, 113, 122 and 124, also having to do with the barbarian wars, seem to belong to the period preceding the embassy of Synesius; see above, notes 30 and 32.

⁴⁹ (Above, note 42) pp. 326 f. and notes. See also Ernst Stein, *Geschichte des Spätromischen Reiches*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1928) p. 363.

⁵⁰ Epist. 62, 78, 94, 110, 130, 132, 133; *Constitutio*; *Catastasis*.

⁵¹ *Catastasis* 1569.

⁵² Epist. 154. "My essay concerning the Gift," referred to in Epist. 154, was undoubtedly his letter to Paeonius on the gift of an astrolabe, which is an essay in the form of a letter. Hercher did not print it in his edition of the letters, but Fitzgerald has given the translation at the end of the volume of letters, and Terzaghi prints it in the *Opuscula*.

⁵³ Epist. 53, 111, 32, 18. Fitzgerald translates the word *egenesdmēn* in Epist. 18 as "born." Lacombrade (p. 137) translates it as "engendrés." That is, according to Lacombrade, the eldest son was begotten and born in Alexandria, but the twins, begotten in Alexandria, were born in Cyrenaica. This makes Epist. 18 not inconsistent with Epist. 132 in which Synesius writes that it will be hard for him to leave his "wife and child" before going into battle, and with Epist. 108, again a letter written on the eve of a battle, in which Synesius recommends his "children" to his brother. The point is a very small one, but it has some bearing on the length of the stay of Synesius in Alexandria.

⁵⁴ Epist. 61, 130, 134.

⁵⁵ Epist. 95.

⁵⁶ Epist. 50.

⁵⁷ Epist. 95.

⁵⁸ P. 207.

⁵⁹ For this date, see Lacombrade, pp. 209-12. Fitzgerald also accepts it, but without analysis; *Letters*, p. 44. Von Campenhausen gives the same date, but only as an approximation; *RE*, vol. 4 A (1932) col. 1363. We may, however, accept Lacombrade's demonstration as conclusive.

⁶⁰ As to slaves, see Dio 13; Epist. 32, 145. As to friends, see especially Epist. 134. As to public life, see especially Calvitii *Encomium* 13; Epist. 57, 100.

⁶¹ Epist. 105. Our whole discussion of the obstacles to the consecration of Synesius is based on this most extraordinary letter, except when we have indicated other sources. It should be noted that, since Ptolemais was the metropolitan see of the Pentapolis, Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, would be the immediate superior of the new bishop, and that it would be his duty to decide whether or not to confirm the election and to consecrate him.

⁶² Cf. Epist. 11, written on his acceptance of the charge.

⁶³ It will be noted that in this letter, Synesius writes of the Christians as "us." He must therefore have become a catechumen by the time he wrote it. The church historians state positively that he was not baptized until after his election; Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* 1. 15; Nikephoros Kallistos, *Hist. Eccl.* 14. 55; Photius, *Bibl. Can.* 26. All these are cited by von Campenhausen (above, note 59).

⁶⁴ Epist. 96.

⁶⁵ Ibid. For the date see above, note 59.

⁶⁶ Crawford (above, note 17) pp. 238-53; A. F. Villeman, *Tableau de l'éloquence chrétienne au IV^e siècle* (Paris, 1861) p. 218; H. Koch, "Synesius von Cyrene bei seiner Wahl und Weihe," *Hist. Jahrb.* 23 (1902) 751 ff.; U. von Wilamowitz-

Moellendorff, "Die Hymnen des Proklos und Synesios," *Sitzungsber. der kgl. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, Jhrg. 1907, pp. 280 f., 286; Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 2 (ed. Bury, 6th ed. [London, 1913]) p. 325, n. 118. Vasiliev (above, note 47) writes of Synesius as converted to Christianity as early as the time of his marriage. In another passage, he remarks that Synesius, though converted to Christianity, married to a Christian and consecrated Bishop of Ptolemais, "se sentait probablement plus païen que chrétien"; vol. 2, p. 156. This seems to imply that Vasiliev believed Synesius to have maintained his reserves.

⁶⁷ Pp. 224-28.

⁶⁸ Epist. 132, cited above, note 53.

⁶⁹ The text is: *Gno-tān te, suno-rida/ tekēon te phuladsois*. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (above, note 66) p. 281, proposes a Doric *Gno-tān* and takes the passage to refer to a pair of sisters and a pair of children, a reading which would still support the argument in our text. Lacombrade, however (pp. 16 ff.), printing a comma after *suno-rida*, understands a pair of sisters and an undefined number of children. If this be correct, though, then *tekēon* seems difficult to accept. Terzaghi, after hesitation, has definitely rejected the emendation to *Gno-tān*; *Hymni*, p. 259.

⁷⁰ Lacombrade, p. 180.

⁷¹ (Above, note 66) p. 280. This passage is quoted with approval by von Campenhausen (above, note 59).

⁷² Epist. 73, 72, 58; cf. *Cod. Iust.* 1. 41. 1.

⁷³ *De Regno* 21.

⁷⁴ Epist. 73, 79. Cf. Epist. 46, 118.

⁷⁵ P. 239, n. 55. Synesius, though, states that Andronicus nailed to the church door "edicts of his own" denying the right of sanctuary to his victims and threatening any priests who might afford them sanctuary. Synesius is evidently claiming that the decrees of Andronicus are more extensive or more drastic in penalty than anything authorized by the imperial law. Further, he accuses Andronicus of blasphemy for having called out three times "that no one shall be torn from the hands of Andronicus, not even should he be embracing the foot of Christ Himself." See Epist. 57 and 58 for Synesius' account.

⁷⁶ See Epist. 72 for the delay, the story of Magnus and the publication of the decree. For his curial rank, see Coster (above, note 12) pp. 35 f. and note 87. Epist. 57 seems to be a public denunciation of Andronicus, coupled with an offer of Synesius either to resign as bishop or to accept a coadjutor. Epist. 58 is the formal decree of excommunication.

⁷⁷ Epist. 90. Anastasius in Constantinople certainly supported Andronicus at one time, but there is some reason to suppose that he may have changed sides later; Coster (above, note 12) p. 38, n. 92. For the enmity between Julius and Andronicus, see Epist. 79.

⁷⁸ Epist. 57.

⁷⁹ Epist. 57, 62. For the contention that Marcellinus was general (*dux*), not governor (*praeses*), see Coster (above, note 12) pp. 14 f., n. 8 and cf. Lacombrade, p. 230, n. 7 and p. 234. *Contra*, how-

ever, Otto Seeck, "Studien zu Synesios," *Philol.* 52 (1894) 442 ff., especially 471 and 479; Wilhelm Ensslin, *RE*, vol. 14 (1930) col. 1444.

⁸⁰ For Synesius and the Eunomians, see *Epist.* 5; Isidore of Pelusium, *Epist.* 1. 241; Lacombrade, p. 259. For other aspects of his episcopal activities, see *Epist.* 12, 13, 45, 66, 67, 76, 121, 126, 128.

⁸¹ The wars against the desert tribes were certainly not permanently ended by the victory of Marcellinus. We find Anastasius reorganizing the defense of Cyrenaica; Joh. Antiochenus, frag. 216. Justinian, too, constructed fortresses in the country and walls at Arsinoe that are still imposing; Procopius, *De Aedif.* 6. 4. 2. But at least we hear no more of raids and wars during the brief period that remained of the life of Synesius. *Contra*, von Campenhausen thinks it probable that Synesius died in these wars, shortly after the composition of the *Catastasis*; (above, note

59) col. 1364. The chronology of Lacombrade seems to us more probable.

⁸² *Epist.* 10, 16, 57, 81, 126.

⁸³ *Epist.* 46; cf. above, note 77.

⁸⁴ *Epist.* 10, 16.

⁸⁵ *Epist.* 15, 16.

⁸⁶ See Lacombrade, pp. 251 f., for an acute and convincing analysis of *Epist.* 12, from which he deduces that Synesius survived Theophilus.

⁸⁷ *Epist.* 10.

⁸⁸ Paulinus, *Carmen* 26. 106 ff.

⁸⁹ *Epist.* 154.

⁹⁰ *Homily* 1.

⁹¹ *Epist.* 9.

⁹² *Epist.* 67.

⁹³ *Hymn* 3. 1600; *De Insomniis* 9.

⁹⁴ *Epist.* 136.

⁹⁵ *Epist.* 124.

THE FORUM

editor MARGARET M. FORBES

THE IMPACT OF THE ADVANCED PLACEMENT PROGRAM

A paper given at the Lawrenceville Classics Conference, December, 1959:

BEING FROM THE MIDDLE WEST, that vague area somewhere west of Detroit and east of San Francisco, I thought it suitable to begin with some reference to Indians. This particular Indian of mine was sitting on a lonely rock observing a lighthouse functioning on Lake Superior. After many hours of constant observation, he made the following comment: "Lighthouse blinkum light, and lighthouse blowum horn, but still fog comum in." As teachers I'm sure we have felt like that lighthouse, blowing our horns, blinking our lights, but the fog keeps coming in. Today I would like to speak about a program which has the potential for keeping that fog far in the distance: the Advanced Placement Program in Latin.

Last May, 91 candidates took the AP Latin IV examination, and 55 took the Latin V. Far too few, you will say. And indeed this is so. But the program is new, and it is growing. In my area of the country there is still much lack of understanding and some reluctance about it, even though knowledge of the program is spreading. In Minnesota, for example, we have a group called the Minnesota Classical Conference, composed of teachers of Greek and Latin in high schools and colleges throughout the state. In the monthly publication of this group information about the program is being dispensed. Now, although one can become acquainted with the program through professional publications, and through pamphlets put out by the College Board, still it helps immeasurably to talk to someone who is actually participating to find out just what is going on. I have found, for example, the Advanced Placement Conferences held each summer to be extremely helpful in my own teaching. One comes to the Conference feeling that all of his problems are unique, and soon finds that, far from this, most of the problems are common to other teachers in the program, and many have already been solved by them. As a result of this thinking, at the last two meetings of the Minnesota Classical Conference we have devoted a portion of the day to a discussion of the AP pro-

gram. We have concentrated for the most part on the methods of establishing AP in the high schools, on the course content of Latin IV, and on what allowance should be made for this course by the colleges. Since most of our college-bound students go either to local liberal arts colleges or to the University of Minnesota, it is most beneficial that both college and high school teachers are members of our Minnesota association. For it promotes a common sharing of information about Advance Placement and a common view regarding it. This is extremely important to the program's success. For while we can argue that the program can stand on its own merit as a challenging and enriching curriculum for the advanced Latin classes in high school, still, to have any great appeal, the colleges must be willing to accept for special consideration the work of the AP graduate. For the teachers always ask: "But my students are going to this or that local college, do they accept the program? Will they recognize this course as college work?" Now in Minnesota, for the Latin AP, we can say, "yes." The general procedure is this, and I understand this is the case in many other colleges in the country: the individual departments are quite willing to give special consideration to the AP graduate as far as placement goes, but the overall policies of the school do not allow them to give credit. For example, two years ago I had a student who took the Latin V examination. The Latin department at Carleton College, after consideration of the work she had done, placed her in the junior level of their Latin curriculum. The Classics department of the University of Minnesota is also quite willing to cooperate in this way. Knowledge that the student will receive such special consideration does provide a powerful incentive for the high school teacher, and offers him a strong argument in presenting the merits of AP to the student, the parent and the school administration. It would, of course, add another strong argument if the teachers could say there was, as well, some policy on credit. While this is not basic to the success of the program, it does create an area of re-

luctance on the part of the teachers—for if the colleges are reluctant, perhaps they should be too—and somewhat weakens their position when arguing the merits of AP. Yet, in defense of the colleges we can say that we must prove these merits before we can expect them to go out of their way to consider the program. For while the program is most familiar to you in the East, it is very new to us in the Middle West. We need more sharing of information about it, more of an attempt to have high schools and colleges regard their jobs as part of a continuous process. If we can get college and secondary school teachers together in our local and state Latin associations, so that they can discuss the program, recognize each others' problems and work out tentative solutions, then, shortly, I'm sure, the records of the AP students in the colleges will speak for themselves, and the program will expand.

This initial and basic area of doubt or hesitancy, college acceptance, leads to another. There is, I have found, a certain reluctance on the part of many secondary school teachers to put their local records on the line in a national examination, where their A students may not perform up to expected standards, especially where the school administrator expects all of the local candidates to receive high honors. This again is the problem of information—of informing school administrators about the program, if we are to expect the untiring cooperation of the teachers. For untiring it must be, when we consider the average class size and teacher load in the public schools. In Minnesota average class size for Latin I is 32, for Latin II 28, for Latin III 25, for Latin IV 17. Most schools have a minimum class size of 15. If it's below that, the course is cancelled. This means considerable extra work is placed on the AP teacher who already has a full schedule, and to what avail if it results in college non-acceptance, or administrative criticism, or parental hesitancy about placing their child's local academic record in a national test?

But this is the bleaker side, and much of it probably results from the newness of the program and what it has to offer. It reflects also, perhaps, a natural reluctance to step out of known paths into something new. The program, however, offers far greater rewards than it has drawbacks.

In discussing these rewards I hope to demonstrate that the program has had a far greater impact than that of establishing an enriched Latin IV or a new Latin V, that it has had effects which are not visible in the number of students who have taken the

AP examinations, but which give this number far greater significance than if we were to take this number by itself as a measure of the impact of the program.

First in importance is the reassertion which the program affords of the literary values contained in a language. On all sides the teacher of Latin is assailed with the notion that a foreign language should be taught as a tool of communication. While the recent drive for oral skill and for language laboratories has not, because of its nature, much affected the teaching of Latin, still such a program, which frequently results in a de-emphasis of reading and literary values, is bound to weaken the position of Latin in the curriculum. Latin itself teaches us that it is what is written that is lasting, and the AP program affords a specific reaffirmation of the literary nature of language. Through the bibliography in the Syllabus, it is also suggested that social and political history be considered and brought to bear on the works read. Often lately I have heard my colleagues in the modern languages say, "To teach the culture of France is to teach France, but not French," or, "To teach Spanish history is to teach Spain, but not Spanish," yet we all know that there are many cultural and political facts which can give us much insight into the Latin language, and that most great works of art are not written in an artistic vacuum, but reflect the times in one way or another. I believe, moreover, that it is only through the introduction of this material that the student can see Latin not as an abstract diagram on the blackboard, but as a language that was used by living people.

But such an approach does more than this. It de-emphasizes grammar. That is, it recognizes grammar only where it pays off: in reading a mature work of Latin prose or poetry. This is not to say that the program stresses the impressionistic or subjective, but it clearly recognizes that grammar is not an end in itself. So often one finds in the introduction to college Latin texts a statement which indicates that it is unfortunate that all of the writers read in high school have been regarded as "treasure-houses of grammatical irregularities," but that now the student can begin to read for literary appreciation, and truly enjoy what he is reading; and so often we have defeated our own purposes by making the third and fourth-year classes simply a repeat of first and second year except for the authors read. With the AP program that no longer need be so. We have a program which rewards the study of a work for its literary values. The student is led to investigate the ideas and

levels of meaning which go beyond the printed page, and not to stop at the translation level alone. He can become fascinated by the problems of style—just what does make a given poem of Horace or Catullus tick, just how does Vergil, through the use of structure and imagery, create the pathos in a given passage? And it soon can become a two-way proposition. That is, this deepened appreciation of style and content heightens the student's interest in syntax as well. They become more analytical as they see, for example, what subtle shadowing can be done with the subjunctive. To illustrate the effectiveness of this approach, I would like to point out that some of the most rewarding moments I have had in teaching have been in discussions with the people who are preparing for the Latin V examination. Starting in January, we meet for about two hours one night each week to discuss a certain work or part of a work as literature. There is outside preparation for this session during the week by the students—outside reading and intensive individual analysis of the work to be considered. At the meeting itself, I have never yet failed to be impressed by the interest shown and the depth of perception demonstrated. I'll frankly admit that I thought, initially, much of this would be beyond the ken of high school juniors or seniors, and that these sessions would turn into lectures. But I was wrong. They take to it with much enthusiasm and competence.

I use these discussion sessions as an answer to one of the most common questions I have had from teachers who ask about the program: "Doesn't it impose limitations upon you, isn't it restrictive?" I mention the experience I have had with my group in trying to demonstrate that far from being restrictive, the program deepens and broadens the approach to the traditional subject matter. And I try to emphasize the program's deepening effects, for one of the most important facets of the program is that it supports the idea that literature can be studied in depth. The Latin teacher is nearly by himself now in the high schools in teaching a close, intensive analysis of individual authors. Really, where else does the student get this almost line-by-line, paragraph-by-paragraph analysis of a given author? The English classes generally emphasize a broad reading acquaintance, 7, 8, or 10 books a quarter, rather than intensive work done with one or two authors. The same is true in the modern languages, at least in my area, where I have found that the readings for the advanced classes are generally chosen on a broad-acquaintance

basis. So where but in Latin is the student exposed to the idea of studying in depth? And here is where the AP program comes in, for it not only guides the student into a deeper analysis of the levels of style, structure and idea in a given author, it also shows him that colleges regard such an approach as most significant, indeed most needed, in his educational development.

Which leads us to a secondary point I would like to mention briefly: that the program offers a great challenge to the teacher as well as to the students. It is not so much because it is new, as because it so deepens and enriches the approach, that the average secondary school teacher will have to spend considerable time in outside research and planning. I feel this is good. If a challenging program is good for the students, it is certainly so for the teacher.

Next, I would like to consider the impact which the program is having on the total structure of the Latin curriculum. That is, what is Advanced Placement doing for the majority of the public high schools which offer only a two-year terminal program in Latin? It is doing far more than we may realize. Let me point out just what it can do for the typical two-year program.

First of all, Advanced Placement offers a strong and immediate argument for establishing a Latin III and IV. It helps to reinforce the notion that a two-year course is just not sufficient. I have already observed this taking place at several schools in my home state. It is in the attempts to re-introduce Latin III into the public high schools that most of the work is currently being done. I would like to digress on this point for a moment. If it were in any way acceptable to the colleges, the AP program could make a much more forcible and direct contribution to the average public high school Latin curriculum if it were to offer examinations for the third and fourth years of Latin, in the manner of the German examinations, rather than the fourth and fifth. I am not unaware of the problems this would present to the colleges in the area of placement alone, but I say it from the point of view of what would most directly and currently benefit the better students in the majority of public high schools in the Middle West.

But to return to the accomplishments of the program, once Latin III is established, a considerable step forward has been made. Let me list briefly some of the variations I have found teachers making in their third-year course because they are interested in Advanced Placement: first, would be to teach Vergil as the third-year author, using the Vergil specifically because they are in-

terested in AP, and using the AP program either with the aim of participating directly in the examination or as a means towards enriching the course with no plans for the examination; next, to teach Cicero and Vergil in alternate years; another, to teach Cicero as the third-year author and tutor selected students in Vergil on the side. Once Latin III is offered, sufficient interest can arise to have enough students for Latin IV, and once Latin IV is established there is the possibility for tutoring in Latin V.

Let me take my own school, Edina-Morningside, as an example. Three years ago we were a two-year terminal school in Latin. Through interest in Advanced Placement, we established a Latin III program. This was easier to do in our school than it would be in many public schools, since most of our graduates go on to college. But Advanced Placement played a direct part: for I had a particularly bright group of students that year, and I challenged them to try the Latin V course in third year. Enough of them accepted the challenge to set up the course. The traditional third-year course was greatly enriched by the nature of the Latin V program, and further enrichment was added through the discussion sessions I have mentioned above. There was, then, a general enrichment for all, and more intensive enrichment for those in the class who were actually going to take the examination. This led to an interest on the part of these students to take Latin IV. There were not enough of them, only 13, to form a minimum class, so they were scheduled together during their study hall, and my preparation period was scheduled at the same time. We met, then, as a special class in Latin IV. This had the advantage of keeping these particular students reading Latin and of putting Latin IV, even though on an irregular basis, in the course schedule. We met three days a week and translated the *Aeneid*. We did not do AP work directly this year, as I wanted to see if it was possible to read six books of the *Aeneid* in the time allowed. It was. This year we are meeting again on the same basis with another Latin IV class. Of the three days we meet, two are given to straight translation of the *Aeneid*, while one is given to enrichment. We plan to give up the reading of the fifth book to accommodate the time spent in the literary analysis of the poem. It is a choice I believe to be well worth making. Next year, we will have enough students for two regular classes of Latin IV. We may still continue the three-day course in one of these classes and use the other two days for tutoring in Latin V. So you can see that the

program is having its effect on the establishment of Latin III and IV, on the structure of these classes, and in the area of general enrichment for students who may never take the AP examination.

And these effects are felt on more than the advanced level alone. To arrange for Latin V on a regularly scheduled basis we established two years ago an accelerated program at the Latin I and II levels. It works in this way: Latin I students take the first semester of Latin in summer school between the 8th and 9th grades, and the second half of Latin I during the first semester of the 9th grade; they then take the first half of Latin II during the final semester of the 9th grade, and the second half of Latin II during the summer between the 9th and 10th grades. We then have 10th graders registering for Latin III. Of course, not all go into Latin; some switch into a three-year modern language program. But the point is that it is now possible for our students, without special scheduling considerations, to take five years of Latin in high school. Now many of the students in the accelerated course (those switching to a modern language, for example) will never appear on the roster of the students taking the AP examinations in Latin, yet the program in which they participated, which allows them to get two years of Latin and three years of a modern language, was directly motivated by interest in the AP program, and a desire to set up a course which would conform to its standards.

Beyond acceleration, the course content of the elementary classes is likewise being influenced. We are, for example, to speed things up in the accelerated class, using two British texts which we feel to have the advantages of providing a broader vocabulary background and of eliminating much of the consecutive reading material which is generally presented too early. In two of the regular Latin I classes we are using a traditional text. In the other two classes we are trying the linguistic method as presented by Professor Sweet in his text, *Latin, A Structural Approach*. We are hoping, through the use of the linguistic approach, for a wider vocabulary range, especially poetic vocabulary, at the Latin III and IV levels, and greater reading skills.

Now I place the blame for all this agitation on the AP program. Its total impact on the structure of our Latin program has been deep indeed. I don't believe, however, that our school is atypical, although we may have a head start. Many teachers are becoming interested. This summer the University of Michigan will offer an Advanced

Placement Institute for teachers of Latin. The Institute will be examining materials and approaches to Latin III and IV, with the aim of guiding teachers toward the establishment of AP Latin IV. The mere fact that such an Institute has been planned indicates the growing curiosity and interest which secondary school teachers have about Advanced Placement.

Once the AP classes are functioning on either a regular or part-time tutorial basis, there are three significant side effects which I would like to mention.

First of all, the program calls attention to the areas of grouping, class size and teacher load. The AP program, not just in Latin, but in all of its tests, calls attention to the efficacy of special grouping. For example, some schools in Illinois are now grouping at four levels: AP, honors, standard and basic. Class size becomes a concern, for overcrowding drastically reduces the effectiveness of the program. Teacher load must be considered. Should the teacher who must spend considerable extra time in planning, research and theme-reading be required to carry the regular load of five or six classes each day? The AP program does not solve these problems, it simply brings them out into the light where parents, teachers and administrators can discuss them.

Second, there is increased cooperation between departments in the high school, and correspondingly less compartmentalization of knowledge for the students. For example, certain papers which are due in Latin can also be used in English, and vice versa. This allows the student to do more intensive work on a given subject, while it somewhat reduces the paper work for the individual teachers. And it reminds the student that many of the ideas which he is learning, say, about literary criticism in English class, can apply to the literature he is reading in Latin.

I have saved what I feel to be one of the most rewarding effects of the program for the last, that its students, and not just those who have taken the examination, want to continue on in Latin in college. The exposure to the ideas of the Latin writers, elementary as it may be, has whetted their appetites. They want more of the same. This does not mean that they are all going on to be Classics majors or even minors, but the possibility is there. After all, once the appetite is whetted, Latin can carry itself. And there is always the hope glimmering, and largely through AP becoming brighter, that some of these students may become teachers of Latin. For that, without doubt, is what we need if we want to keep that

lighthouse I mentioned at the beginning blinking and honking.

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PSYCHOLOGY APPLIED TO LATIN LEARNING

A shortened version of a paper read at the CAMWS meeting, April, 1959:

ONLY IN RECENT YEARS have psychologists been directing their attention to language learning. They are just beginning to realize that language learning for adults is an art and a skill that involves all the mental processes and habits used by the small child. In their study of traditional methods they see that the adult learner is subjected to methods far removed from those in which he acquired his first language as a child.

The outmoded methods of learning a second modern language such as French or Spanish with emphasis on reading and writing first attracted the attention of psychologists who could see that the skill of fluency was more important. If fluency were to be attained, they reasoned, then the language should be mastered by methods the child used in learning his first language. As a result, psychologists directed their attention to procedures such as imitation, repetition, speech-pattern modes of making the learning of a language painless, with the child unaware that he is learning.

Likewise, psychologists in analyzing the methods of Latin learning found that students are doing much unnecessary work. The over-emphasis on drill, the long lists of unrelated vocabulary and the countless rules of syntax overburden the student to the detriment of his learning and enjoying Latin.

The Latin teacher is gradually realizing that she must adopt many of the techniques used in the teaching of modern languages, and must apply various psychological approaches if she is going to make Latin a simpler and more rewarding study. (Let it be granted that the Latin teacher must present Latin in an orderly fashion to adolescents and adults, but there is no reason why she cannot make it a pleasing and satisfying experience.) As a result the Latin teacher is turning her attention to comparative linguistics, to morphology, to phonology and phonemes.

In addition to these studies, the alert Latin teacher aiming to keep abreast of the times is put on trial to devise new techniques for economy in Latin learning. Aware of the importance of the principles of psychology, she will use psychological techniques and will be conscious of the reactions of her students to boredom and memory work, as well as of the natural demands of students for a practical application of the study.

Have we ever considered, for instance, the psychological reaction of the student who discovers after two years of drill in grammar that he cannot translate the work of a Latin author or even the sentences found in casual readings? What is his psychological reaction to the vocabulary of a new author other than Caesar on which he spent long hours in his second-year class? Is he going to be discouraged and resolve no longer to study Latin? How can such students be saved for further study?

Initially, there must be a limit to the amount of grammar taught. Dr. Lenore Geweke, who has studied the problem of how much grammar is actually needed, would have only two rules taught for the genitive, and three for the ablative (*Time*, August 16, 1948, p. 54). Recently Dr. Goodwin Beach (*CW* 52 [1959] 144) suggested a short-cut method of teaching the verb by a logical presentation of the active personal endings, except the perfect, and calling the process ended. The student is likely to appreciate this logical system much more than the boredom of memorization, especially if he does not understand the purpose of the memory work. The Latin teacher cannot afford to overlook the psychological import of these short-cuts.

She will also find that speech-pattern psychology obtains in teaching Latin as well as in modern-language teaching. The French teacher no longer asks the students to memorize long lists of isolated words or paradigms or conjugations. She presents students with sentences showing the relationship of the words to one other. By a series of pattern practices of short sentences that contain a minimum change, the Latin teacher, too, can gain ground teaching vocabulary and structure simultaneously.

Latin in sentences, then, is the teacher's tool to motivate her students to express complete ideas. Although no Latin teacher will expect the same fluency attained in the French class, she can use oral Latin for the habit of putting words together correctly in sentences. The wise teacher will link sounds and words with situations; she

will link speech with activity. For example by simple sentences the students will carry the book and at the same time say: *Librum ad fenestram fero. Videsne nives in terra?* This dramatization of Latin has a decided psychological effect on the student's learning process.

She remembers at the same time that any purely mechanical and automatic sentence drill has a limited place in human learning. But one can get around the mechanics by presenting the structure of language with psychological understanding of interest and motivation.

If the teacher uses oral or aural-oral approaches, it does not mean she is disregarding the reading and writing of the language. There is no antagonism toward reading and writing; those two techniques are necessary, but should come at later stages. The aural-oral approach is used to fix the language, whether modern or classical, and makes it practical. Nor is there an antipathy toward memorization of vertical paradigms, provided the sequence of signals for case endings in a horizontal method is emphasized first.

Numerous aids are available to the Latin teacher and students by way of attractive textbooks, posters and materials, very colorful and modern in format. Content, too, is presented in a pleasant and appealing way. It takes the teacher's approach, though, to make these aids really effective if she is not going to defeat her purpose. Colorful books and alluring materials are unproductive *per se* without the teacher's psychological "finger."

In new Latin books coming on the market, practically every page carries some illustrative material, as if such illustrations were a *sine qua non* to Latin teaching. The author, however, fails to caption the material in Latin, or tell a story in Latin about the picture, or to offer a series of questions which draw the student's attention to the worth of the picture. Visual material is valuable, as every Latin teacher knows, but unless it is fused with the Latin lesson, it wastes the time of both teacher and student. Captivating as a Latin book may be, or as a Latin classroom may be with scenic views of the Pantheon and the Colosseum portraying Roman life, unless the student is learning Latin through them, these addenda are perfectly useless. The same may be said of other realia such as lamps, statues, coins and the like.

If a teacher is going to tell her students all about the Pantheon and Roman aqueducts in English, she will be teaching his-

tory or archeology in the precious time allotted to Latin language teaching. If she leaves them unexplained, pictures and realia become merely panoramic condiments impressing the principal or parents alone. A teacher who understands the curiosity of students will write explanatory notes in Latin that become a challenge to students as they browse around before and after class.

Visual materials may, however, have a very important psychological bearing on actual classroom teaching. At one time a picture may serve as material for the oral Latin of the day. Take, for example, a scene on a Roman road. Questions such as these may be asked: *Quot equos habet magnus vir?* *Quot viros vides in pictura?* *Quo modo vir arat agrum?* Or these pictures may serve as a subject for a narrative Latin story.

Though students get much enjoyment from the use of such material, the teacher's psychological purpose is to sustain interest, not to entertain. Because she knows that the listening capacity of the adolescent is limited to a few minutes, that the students get bored easily, and that they resent too much continuous translation, the teacher capitalizes on visual materials to retain interest. Visual materials may also serve as rest periods to relieve strain, but only for a change in the technique of teaching.

What kind of person, then, is the Latin teacher who will utilize effectively this psychological approach? Is she expected to be a psychologist? At least she must know the psychology of Latin teaching. She must know that if she loves the Latin she teaches, the students will love it, too. She will be a reflector of right attitudes toward Latin and things classical. Students readily imitate a teacher and retain the love of Latin learning that she manifests.

If a Latin teacher is enthusiastic about her work, and is continually pointing out aspects that make Latin enjoyable, she will help the student avoid the frustration which a strange new language can produce. Adolescents, with their growing self-consciousness and searching need for solidity, will especially appreciate this happy attitude.

At the same time, the enthusiastic teacher must be patient with the student who gets tangled up in the labyrinth of the third declension, for instance, by taking time to give clear explanations and draw careful distinctions. The present environment is one increasingly alien to classical studies, so that patient orientation to language structures such as those in Latin is imperative.

The effective Latin teacher with definite objectives in mind will make the students completely aware of what the goals are and how well she is going to achieve them. Students will then respect her desire to move them toward specific goals. Students will have confidence in the teacher who has high but attainable aims. Too, they like order in action and will not mind working if they feel they are succeeding.

The Latin teacher must be sufficiently clever to make the proverbial "all work" seem like play by keeping a lively sense of humor. Even telling jokes is not out of place, but they must be told in Latin! As a result, from the classroom atmosphere will come a relaxed situation, in which the students unconsciously realize that the teacher is aware of their physical and emotional needs as well as their educational needs.

Another psychological principle important to a Latin teacher is that she must never admit that Latin is too difficult to learn. The students must not think of Latin as difficult but as a challenge. For the adolescent especially, challenge is his point of departure for most endeavor.

The Latin teacher must be alert enough to capitalize on the positive. She does not give shorter lessons because the subjunctive uses are going to be more difficult to learn; she will obviate difficulties by precise explanation, and thus avoid the sense of inferiority or defeat. If she is precise, logical and clear in her explanations, she may expect the students to have lessons prepared with precision and good organization.

What emotional and intellectual responses can this type of Latin teacher evoke from her student? First of all, the students lose fear because the teacher has built up the study of the language progressively and proceeds from simple forms to the more complex. The student is no longer frustrated because he is beginning to understand the relations and forms of language structures. Love of his subject and courage to proceed with conviction replace fear and frustration.

Next comes the intellectual response of a desire for accuracy of work and thought which inspires the student to respect and to desire accuracy in other situations. In this regard, Latin learning helps to avoid producing those pseudo-scholars, whose tangled syntax and vague vocabulary are the result of their confused thinking. Because of the teacher's psychological approach (and rational at that) students appreciate the consistency of construction (even aesthetic in appeal) involved in Latin syntax and in the entire makeup of the Latin language.

In conclusion I should like to say that I am not proposing palliatives for the teaching of Latin. We are not trying to discover easier, but more effective ways and means of Latin learning. Latin teachers must aim at Latin teaching that is functional, desirable and attractive. Then Latin students in our high school classes, seeing beyond the horizon of enforced labor, will reach for the stars of enjoyment and comprehension in continued study.

SISTER M. JORDAN

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MARYMOUNT COLLEGE WORKSHOP

AN INTERESTING and profitable workshop was sponsored last June by Marymount College at Salina, Kansas. In this cooperative undertaking by the Classics and Modern Language departments, the enrollment numbered over sixty enthusiastic members in all the languages. Common goals were stressed, and there were general as well as sectional meetings. Various publishers presented new textbooks and teaching helps. Different kinds of language laboratory equipment were displayed and demonstrated. Evening films in the several foreign languages offered suggestions for dealing with the cultures represented. Realia and art materials for teacher and student were examined and discussed.

This kind of workshop established an unusually successful and happy pattern of as-

sociations for FL teachers and the staff of consultants. Sister Marie Antoinette was in charge of arrangements for the Latin group.

M. F.

COMMENTS FROM A MARYMOUNT TALK

LATIN STUDENTS as a body rank higher than non-classical students. It is striking that of the 600,000 high school seniors who took the National Merit Award examinations in 1957, almost all the students who made A had studied Latin four or three years. Nearly as high a percentage of B students had taken three or two years of Latin.

In a single school, Latin students won many N.M.A. scholarships. In 1957, all five finalists had studied Latin for four years. In 1958, eight of nine finalists were Latin students. One-half the honor students had studied Latin from one to three years.

In College Entrance Examinations, it is admitted that students who present four years of Latin usually do best, and those with no Latin are handicapped.

College admissions officers with long experience say that students who have studied Latin are uniformly successful in college work.

ELEANORE COOPER

*Scott Foresman and Company
Chicago*

THE *DYSKOLUS* AND MENANDER'S REPUTATION

KATHERINE LEVER

MY FIRST REACTION to the news of a complete play by Menander was not a simple one of delight. I was apprehensive too. Menander's reputation is at stake. Perhaps his comedies had been highly praised in antiquity because they pleased the taste of ancient critics. Would his comedy still have the power to interest and amuse readers today? Moreover, our reputations as critics and scholars are also at stake. We have made statements based on fragments and scenes. Will these statements still be valid now that we have a complete play? To answer these questions, let us first review briefly the history of Menander's reputation and then examine critically the new play.¹

In his lifetime only eight of Menander's comedies were awarded the victory, but in the centuries after his death his comedies received the tribute of high praise from critics, of wide quotation, and of frequent adaptation for the Roman stage. When the original plays were lost, many of these tributes survived and in modern times were collected and printed. For centuries the name of Menander was accounted great because Quintilian and Plutarch had praised his knowledge of life, his subtle portrayal of character, his skill as a dramatist and his style. The ancient critics had read the plays; they knew their value; and later critics could only acquiesce in their judgments.

Then at the beginning of the twentieth century came the discoveries of the

papyri and the printing of considerable sections from three plays along with the fragments. Here at last was firsthand evidence for critical analysis and yet not the solid evidence of a whole play. The inevitable result was controversy. On the one hand, it was said that the plots were limited in range, formulaic and improbable; that the characters were highly conventionalized; that the world of the plays was a small one and neither moral nor religious. On the other hand, it was said that the plots were deftly constructed with fast action and a natural and easy way of handling stage conventions. The violations and recognitions were explained as part of the depiction of contemporary life. The characters were said to be subtly differentiated so that even those of the same type emerged in particular plays as individuals. The world of Menander was described as a private world, the world of the middle class family, making up in intimacy what it lacked in breadth. The plays were moral in the resolution of the plots. They exemplified the redeeming force of kindness and ended in reform and reconciliation.

One critic said the New Comedy was a comedy of manners; another denied it. "In brief," said the first critic, "not only does the Comedy of Manners arise in a 'world' that is small, sophisticated, equally sophisticated, and leisured; further, it is such a world and such a world only, that it depicts."² In reply

another critic wrote an article from the summary of which the following sentences are quoted: "Others suppose that he wrote sophisticated comedy such as is denoted in English literature by the term comedy of manners. Light may be thrown on Menander's world through study of the modern orient and to appreciate his art we must be aware that he is not sophisticated or witty but sincere and moving."³

Critics have disagreed even about whether or not the plays are comedies at all. One writes, "On one point all scholars seem to agree: although there is considerable humor in the misunderstandings in which the various characters find themselves involved, the plays of Menander are not comedy in the modern sense of the term. Even in antiquity New Comedy was described as disregarding laughter and tending toward the serious, and this is assuredly true of the extant plays of Menander, whose chief excellence is considered his delineation of character."⁴ Contrast that statement with this: "Indeed New Comedy never gave any real promise of developing into serious drama. It is clever and amusing and delightful. We should expect no more of it."⁵

With all these diverging opinions we need not wonder that the final evaluations of Menander's quality should have a wide range. On the one hand, we hear that Menander had humor and a knowledge of human nature, but that he lacked comic force and a good style—in short, he was not a dramatic writer of superlative merit.⁶ On the other hand, we hear "that for sheer drama—character, action, and passion—Menander was the greatest of the Greeks. . . ."⁷

Now at long last we have a complete play, and we can see for ourselves its nature and value. At once we observe how right Allinson was in his note to the fragments of the *Dyskolos* in the Loeb edition: "The loss of this play is the more to be regretted as the scene seems to have been laid in the deme of Phyle, embracing the site of the histori-

cal fortress and of the Sanctuary of the Nymphs in the gorge beyond the convent of 'Our Lady of the Defile.'"⁸ The setting of the play in the deme of Phyle and before the shrine of Pan and his Nymphs is an essential part of the meaning of the play. As we read the comedy, our imaginations easily transport us to the barren mountain side. The farmers there must work hard from morning till night, and then they have earned only a miserable livelihood. Knemon, the discontented old man, works his farm with only an old woman and his daughter to help. No wonder he can not afford strong rope for the water bucket. His stepson, Gorgias, has only one slave. They work together in the fields digging and mending the fences to provide for themselves and his mother. Menander is not romantic about the country. The life is hard and the livelihood meager. Only the shrine of Pan offers hope for the miserable.

The daughter of Knemon reveres Pan and his Nymphs. In reward Pan inspires a prosperous youth with love for her. This love initiates the action of the play, an action which is always visualized for us. We see before us the contrasts of rich and poor, old and young. First on the scene are the elegantly dressed youths, the lover Sostratus and his friend, Chaereas. What a contrast they are to the old and ragged Knemon when he enters after the slave! Sostratus is so conspicuously well-to-do that Daos, the slave of Gorgias, is rightfully suspicious of his motives. Gorgias takes one look at Sostratus and says, "You mean this fellow with the fine clothes?" (257)⁹ Sostratus must dress as well as work like a poor farmer before he can prove he is worthy of the maiden. The test comes when his own slave does not recognize him in his sheepskin coat. The richly clad father and mother of Sostratus are contrasted with the poorly clad father and mother of the maiden. This contrast would be especially striking when the mother of Sostratus emerges from the shrine and welcomes Kne-

mon's wife and daughter. The contrast would include Sikon, the cook, and Simike, the crone who works for Knemon. The well-to-do invade the world of the poor. The interaction of the two worlds is part of the action of the play.

Another action of the play is the change wrought in Knemon. At the beginning of the comedy he is violent. The slave of Sostratus tells how Knemon has chased him all over the fields and pelted him with stones, clods and even pears. Knemon wants always to be alone. He never hospitably invites anyone into his house. He drives everyone away from his door. What is worse, he hates having the shrine of the Nymphs near him and wishes he could move to a more isolated spot. Knemon does not even wish to speak to Pan. At the end of the play Knemon no longer can stand by himself. His loss of independence is visually communicated by his need to be physically helped into the shrine. He is joining his family and his new relatives in the festivities marking the marriages of his daughter and of his stepson. And finally the garland on his head is a token of respect for the god of the shrine and the sacrificial feast he is about to join.

The shrine of Pan is central in the image and the meaning of the comedy. The action begins there and ends there. Pan's worshippers are the chorus who sing and dance five times in the course of the play. Sostratus goes into the shrine for water to help the maiden he loves. From the end of Act Two when Geta and Sikon enter with the bedding and the sheep, we are constantly reminded of the progress of the sacrifice within the shrine. For the Greek audience this off-stage action would have been as vivid in their imaginations as the on-stage action was vivid to their sight. The worship of Pan is thus the accompaniment of the immediate action. The borrowing of utensils, amusing as it is, is not just farcical by-play. Knemon does more than refuse to loan a pot to a cook; he refuses to help the worshippers of Pan.

The ways by which the changes in

Knemon are wrought and by which the rich and poor are united are subtly interwoven. The love of Sostratus for the maiden is the driving force of the play. He pays no heed to the fears of his slave or the cautious advice of his friend. He endures the hardship of physical labor. He helps pull Knemon from the well. In his exuberance he even persuades his father to accept Gorgias as a son-in-law. He is not simply in love with the maiden; his love expands into affection for her half-brother and good will toward her mother. This expansive action runs counter to the downward thrust of Knemon's catastrophes. Harassed by strangers in his field and at his door, he is further troubled by his own inept servant, Simike, and by a rotten rope. He has ordered water to be heated, and Simike has lost the bucket in the well. He needs his hoe to move manure, and Simike in an attempt to get the bucket has lost the hoe also in the well. He tries to recover the bucket and hoe and himself falls into the well. At the nadir of his fortunes he discovers his own need and the unself-seeking goodness of another. His discontent has been caused by his mistaken idea that everyone was selfishly seeking his own advantage. Now Gorgias has risked his life to save him although Gorgias has received nothing from him in the past and can expect nothing from him in the future.

The turns in the action are motivated by responses which are both natural and good. The sincerity of Sostratus' love and desire to marry the maiden despite her poverty overcomes the suspicion of Gorgias. Gorgias is one of the most interesting characters of the play. Poverty has made him independent, and he is in danger of becoming hardened and lonely like his stepfather. When Sostratus asks him if he has ever been in love he replies, "I haven't that privilege, sir." "What! Who's stopping you?" asks Sostratus. Gorgias replies, "A certain genius for calculation that never lets me take a moment's holiday" (341-42). He is proud and shy, but he is young with the capacity to learn

and to return good for evil. He is experienced in the ways of man. He knows that his stepfather's ill nature can not be changed by force or reason. When Gorgias rescues Knemon, he assures Knemon he will not presume on his role as savior. In his pride he at first refuses to accept the invitation of Sostratus to the feast. He is too proud to accept the sister of Sostratus with her rich dowry, but he is convinced when Kallippides, the father of Sostratus, points out that his refusal is both wicked and stupid. He is shy about being with the women at the feast, but yields to the persuasive friendliness of Sostratus.

The turns in the characters and thus the action are natural because they are gradual. No one is suddenly or completely changed. Kallippides agrees to the marriage of his daughter to Gorgias less, we feel, because he is convinced by his son's arguments than because he would rather have a poor son-in-law than listen any longer to the moral platitudes of his son. The change in Knemon is the most marked, but this change too is measured in inches. His first concession is giving Gorgias his money to administer and the betrothal of his daughter to arrange. He wants no introduction to the son-in-law. He has changed only in that he no longer demands his son-in-law be like himself. He still wants to be left alone. He capitulates only when he is so pestered by the slave and the cook that the alternative of sociability is the lesser evil. They describe the joys of the festivities within the shrine and Geta says:

O thou victim of a dire disaster, dance. Come and trip it with us.

KNEMON: Oh what on earth, oh what do you want, you wretches?

SIKON: Come and trip it faster. You're clumsy.

KNEMON: No, for heaven's sake.

SIKON: Shan't we carry you in now?

KNEMON: What am I to do?

SIKON: You are just to dance.

KNEMON: Carry me off then. Perhaps that won't be so hard to put up with as this.

(954-58)

The action of the play is a skilful com-

bination of surprise and of the fulfillment of the audience's expectation. We have heard Pan tell us in his Prologue how peevish Knemon is, so that we expect the slave of Sostratus to come running in with a tale of woe and we expect Knemon in wrath to follow him. When Daos, the slave of Gorgias, says he is going to report to Gorgias that a rich young man has been talking to the sister, we expect Gorgias to come out with Daos. We do not expect that Gorgias will be scolding Daos for neglecting his duty in not ordering the young man to go away immediately. When Sostratus follows his father into the shrine to tell him of his betrothal, we expect the two to emerge together and that the father will be objecting to the marriage. We do not expect that the marriage he is objecting to is the marriage of his daughter to Gorgias.

Throughout the play slight strokes of characterization surprise and delight us. Sostratus is pleased rather than dismayed to hear from Gorgias that his beloved has had only the nurture of her father. She will be all the more innocent for not having been educated by women (381). Gorgias praises Sostratus, "Your sterling character is fully proved. I only hope you'll be the same always." Sostratus says, "No, no. I hope to do far better." And then he adds, "But self-praise is, I am afraid, a little vulgar" (770-74). Sostratus and Gorgias complement each other. Gorgias is the leader and the competent one of the pair when his stepfather is involved. He tells Sostratus to dress like a farmer and to work. He goes down the well while the lovesick Sostratus has eyes only for the maiden and allows the rope to slip three times. But when the problem is a social one, Sostratus is the competent one. He it is who arranges the marriage for Gorgias and overcomes his scruples.

Even the minor characters contribute to the depth of the play. They lend a life of their own as well as elicit responses from the major characters. Sostratus' friend, Chaereas, has a regular technique for helping his friends in their love affairs. He advises one

method for winning a courtesan and another for winning a wife. The cook, Sikon, is also a man of experience. He has often borrowed cooking utensils, and he knows flattering phrases which are effective. He boasts of his prowess to Geta. Later, repulsed by Knemon, he still refuses to admit defeat. His technique is all right, he still claims; the trouble is that he knocked at the wrong door. Later, he interprets Knemon's fall into the well as just retribution for his bad treatment of a cook. No one can insult a cook with impunity. Of course, one can say what one likes to a waiter.

These unexpected turns and touches and these fulfillments of our expectations are humorously dramatic. There is comic action bordering on the farcical in the retreat of various characters from the violence of Knemon and in the repetition of knocking at his door. The extravagant requests at the end of the play—requests for seven tables with three legs, a dozen regular tables, nine rugs, a foreign tapestry one hundred feet long and a bronze bowl—are so absurd that we laugh at Geta and Sikon more than we do at Knemon. There is wit too throughout the play. The passage most amusing to me is the entrance of Knemon (153-60):

KNEMON: Really, wasn't Perseus the luckiest of men, whichever way you take it—the one they tell about. He had wings on his ankles so that he never met anyone who traveled with his feet on the ground. And in the second place he had in his possession an object of such virtue that he could turn to stone anyone that got in his way. I just wish I had it now. There would be nothing more abundant hereabouts than marble statues in every nook and corner.

In summary, the *Dyskolos* is in my opinion an excellent comedy—not a comedy of any one kind but a comedy. It is excellent because the image of life reveals a vision of life. Everything which reaches through our eyes and ears to our imaginations reaches also to our emotions and mind. What we see moves us and what moves us is the vision of life. Through smiles and laugh-

ter we apprehend a moral world where good motives prevail and a religious world where the god honors and rewards the good and the loving with joy, and redeems rather than punishes the lonely and discontented.

A word of caution is necessary. In our joy at the discovery of one whole play we should not suspend our critical judgment and generalize too freely about Menander's comedy or about New Comedy. As Miss Goodfellow said to me, "Supposing Shakespeare's plays were lost for two thousand years and then one play was found, and that play was *The Comedy of Errors*!" We suppose that Menander's comedies were more similar to each other than Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* were to each other or to *Troilus and Cressida*, but this is a supposition. We still have insufficient support for wide generalization about Menander as a playwright. We need all or many of his plays before we can confidently say that the *Dyskolos* is typical or unique, a youthful essay he surpassed later, an early height he never again reached, or a congenial pattern he frequently repeated. What is more, his originality as a writer of Greek comedy in the late fourth century B.C. can not be assessed until we have comedies of Philemon or Diphilus for comparison.

We do, however, have English comedies, and Menander's one whole comedy can be compared with single English comedies to see how distinctive Menander's play is. When I first began to look for an English comedy similar to the *Dyskolos*, I was confident the search would be easy. If an Anglican church and its rites were substituted for the shrine and ritual of Pan, the basic action of the *Dyskolos* could easily take place even today in an English village. I found in English drama any number of young lovers frustrated by the churlish fathers of beautiful maidens. What is rare is the realistic setting in a village of poor farmers. Many English comedies are romantically set in

far-off countries or olden times or both. If the scene is contemporary England, the place is usually London. In the few plays with realistic country setting the action is farcical and satiric rather than comic. The play which comes closest to the *Dyskolos* is Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. But in this play the lovers outwit the father and elope. Even more significant is the contrast in the endings of the two plays. Sir Giles Overreach, the heroine's father, is so enraged by his frustrations that he tries to murder his daughter and then goes completely insane and is led away to Bedlam. I know of no English comedy which combines the triple dimensions of the natural, human and supernatural worlds with a perspective similar to that of the *Dyskolos*. In view of the distinction of this comedy Menander's reputation can be acclaimed as great on the merit of his own work as we read it today. We no longer need to rely on the testimony of ancient critics.

The reputation of Menander is clearly enhanced among classicists by the discovery of this play. Through Mr. Highet's translation in *Horizon* he is also becoming known to those who may never before have heard of even his name. Soon the comedy will be performed and take its place in the theatrical repertory. We all wait with interest, I am sure, to see how dramatic critics hitherto unfamiliar with Greek New Comedy will respond to this play.

One result of this discovery that we can not expect is that any of the critical questions raised earlier about Menander's comedy will now be settled. We all, no doubt, will wish to revise what we have written about New Comedy—I know I should like to excise my statements in *The Art of Greek Comedy* about the formulaic plots, the conventional characters and the stereotyped settings—but these revisions will inevitably provoke controversy rather than stop it. Furthermore, criticism of the *Dyskolos* has barely begun, and already we are beginning to take dif-

ferent positions on major critical problems. For example, while I believe that the play is religious, I should not go so far as Miss Photiades has in saying,

Pan's influence in the play itself regulates the plot and fulfills the intentions set forth in the prologue. It is on him that the main features of the plot depend. The turning point comes when Knemon falls into the well in the fourth act, which is a punishment for his neglect of Pan's cult.¹⁰

Nor, on the other hand, do I agree with Mr. Graves who calls Pan "a 'throw-away' character" because "we never see him again."¹¹ I come nearest to agreeing with Mr. Post when he says, "Pan makes Sostratus fall in love at first sight. From then on the power of Pan and the virtue of Sostratus are indistinguishable."¹²

This critical controversy is not to be deplored. On the contrary, the livelier the controversy, the clearer the proof that Menander has earned by his genius his reputation as a great playwright.

Wellesley College

¹ This article was presented in a slightly different form as a paper at the Panel Session on Menander's *Dyskolos* at the meeting of the American Philological Association, December 28, 1959.

² G. Norwood, *Greek Comedy* (Boston, 1932) pp. 357-58.

³ L. A. Post, "Menander in Current Criticism," *TAPA* 65 (1934) 13.

⁴ G. E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton, 1952) p. 32.

⁵ P. W. Harsh, *A Handbook of Classical Drama* (Stanford, 1944) p. 320.

⁶ H. Richards, "The New Menander," *CQ* 2 (1908) 134.

⁷ Post (above, note 2) p. 21.

⁸ F. G. Allinson, *Menander* (London, 1930) p. 345.

⁹ Line numbers refer to *Papyrus Bodmer IV* (Geneva, 1958). I have used Prof. Post's unpublished translation (with his permission) because I like it better than my own.

¹⁰ P. J. Photiades, "Pan's Prologue to the *Dyskolos* of Menander," *Greece and Rome* 5 (1958) 114.

¹¹ R. Graves, "The Dour Man," *Encounter* 13 (September, 1959) 67. I owe this reference to Prof. L. R. Shero.

¹² L. A. Post, "Rev. Victor Martin. Menandre: *Le Dyskolos*," *AJP* 80 (1959) 405.

BOOK REVIEWS

editor FRED W. HOUSEHOLDER, JR.

The Etruscans, by RAYMOND BLOCH. Ancient Peoples and Places. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. Pp. 260. 120 illustrations. \$5.50.

JUST WHO were the Etruscans? This question may never be satisfactorily answered, but the hope of finding an answer has endured from ancient times. But even though we know little about the provenance of the Etruscans, we know considerably more about their history and their political and social life, thanks to ancient literary sources and modern archaeological activity.

We know, for instance, that as early as the seventh century B.C. the Etruscans had formed a loose religious hegemony in northern Italy which by 500 B.C. had gradually extended south into Campania and west to the coastal islands. Their power spread to the sea as well, and for a time they became masters in the western Mediterranean. This empire gradually crumbled before the onslaught of Greeks, Sicilians, Carthaginians and Romans.

From their sumptuous tombs hollowed out of the volcanic rock we learn what these people looked like, how their homes were furnished and even what the Etruscan ladies used in the way of cosmetics. The tomb paintings reveal an intensely religious people who devoutly believed that certain divine powers regulated their life. They thus were devotees of divination and ritual, much of which they passed on to the Romans.

All of this and more is laid before the reader by Bloch in a fairly interesting narrative. Perhaps the story has lost some of its charm in this translation (it was originally published as *Le mystère étrusque*; Bloch has also written two other books on the subject), but the English version is more sumptuous than the French. There are many well-executed photographs of material drawn from every phase of Etruscan art and architecture along with Bradford's now famous aerial photographs of the necropolises at Cerveteri and Tarquinia.

The first chapter on The History of Etruscology is not all that it could be. It is true that B. is trying to cover a great deal and must be careful not to spend too long on any one aspect of this history, but I think he could have conveyed to the reader a little more of the romance of Etruscan

archaeology. He does mention, for instance, the Regolini-Galassi discovery, but does not portray the enthusiasm of the excavators as they attacked their mound and the gradually mounting disappointment as they came upon one rifled tomb after another containing little or nothing at all of interest. It was more a desire for thoroughness than any hope of finding anything that prompted Galassi to order a few workers to probe the center of the mound as the excavation was coming to a conclusion. But it is just this care that has produced some of the brightest discoveries of all, for, soon after beginning their probe, the excavators penetrated a tomb full of gold, silver and bronze objects. Here were large bronze cauldrons, the arms of a hero, remains of the funeral couch and cart on which the chieftain had been borne to his resting place. Silver cups, a throne and a chariot also greeted the happy excavators. The hero's wife lay near him decked out in bracelets, beads and brooches, all of gold. Such a rich discovery has not been paralleled in Etruria.

The early plunderings at Etruscan sites could well have been included also. The picture of unscrupulous art dealers staking out areas for plunder and carrying off cartload after cartload of artifacts for an eager market in the large cities is appalling and disheartening, but it is worth describing for the contrast it presents with present-day activity.

But we still have not approached the two great problems of Etruscology—those of origin and language. Although B. leans towards the oriental migration theory, he does agree with Pallottino that the problem of the origin of the Etruscans is more complex than scholars have hitherto realized. The Etruscans did not spring up overnight, but resulted from a "fusion of different ethnic elements." Involved here may have been a migration from the eastern Mediterranean.

I think another word or two may be said in favor of the Herodotean tradition. Archaeological discovery is showing that many of the traditions regarding early Mediterranean history such as we find in Homer and the historians are in broad outline reliable. Moreover, the archaeological evidence for Minoan and Mycenaean penetration of the western Mediterranean world

bears out the possibility, it seems to me, that people came from the east at an early date, as Herodotus suggests.

The decipherment of Etruscan, as B. points out, barely eludes us. A great deal is known about the pronunciation of this language; even some of the noun and verb endings are recognizable. But a complete and successful decipherment awaits the discovery of more material, preferably in the form of literary texts. B. has nothing new to offer here.

Surprisingly enough, B. has little to say about archaeological techniques that are being employed today to reconstruct the Etruscan civilization. He mentions Lerici's improved methods of detecting Etruscan tombs but gives short shrift to Bradford's excellent work with aerial photography. He should have done more than simply refer the reader (p. 245) to the appropriate chapter in Bradford, since this work is not always available. If nothing else, he could have pointed out that not only the tombs themselves may be made out from the air, but even their entrances. Also, Bloch might have mentioned the part that sea archaeology is playing in reconstructing early trade

relations between Etruria and other centers in the western Mediterranean.

A final word must be said regarding the mechanics of this book. Besides the photographs gathered at the end, there are numerous line drawings throughout the text. The mistakes that occur in connection with these illustrations are inexcusable. For instance, photographs 28, 29 and 30 are disordered. The references, then, on pages 86, 169 and 248 are confusing. The biconical urn, which as it stands is number 30, should be renumbered 28, with the present numbers 28 and 29 becoming 29 and 30 respectively. On page 130 the reference to photographs 64-71 implies that these are all jewels. The uninitiated will have a hard time accepting number 68, a bronze candelabra, as a jewel. Also, figures 9-12 (reference on page 124) do not have anything to do with Buchero ware, and figure 39 (reference on page 120) does not picture war arms as we are led to believe. Neither does photograph 20 (reference on page 126) at all exhibit "a happy and unconstrained existence."

In other places no reference is made to a photograph where it would be welcome. This is especially evident on page 176,

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where we find a glowing description of the Chimaera from Arezzo and the winged horses from Tarquinia without even a hint that these may be among the photographs.

The reader looking for contributions to our knowledge of Etruria will be disappointed. For this book is designed for the general reader and never gets above the level of an introduction to Etruscology. The original element that is evident in other volumes of this series is here lacking. It is not challenging reading.

EDWIN S. RAMAGE

Indiana University

Tre variazioni romane sul tema delle origini, by ANGELO BRELICH. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1955. Pp. 128.

Gli eroi greci, same author. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1958. Pp. xii, 412.

THE FIRST of these two books is a trio of essays directed to students of comparative religion rather than to specialists in classical studies. In "Roma e Praeneste" Pro-

fessor Brelich points out that the speech to T. Quinctius Cincinnatus before the battle at the Allia (Livy 6.29) was a contrast between the deities assisting the two peoples. The men of Praeneste fixed their hopes on the fortune of the place; the Romans, on the other hand, had a firmer basis for their confidence, arms and valor, and they invoked *di testes foederis*. This speech was a contrast between the Fortuna of Praeneste and Jupiter of the Romans. Mr. Brelich believes that Cicero's famous account of the statue of a Fortuna feeding the infants Jupiter and Juno (Div. 2.85f.) was appropriate to the cult of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. *Primigenius*, he writes, did not mean "primogenito di qualcuno" but "primo, originario." The people of Praeneste contributed the concept of "primogenita" to *primigenia* by making the mother (or nurse) of Jupiter his daughter. Thus the author eliminates the difficulties caused by inscriptional evidence, *fortunae iovis pueri primigeniae*, etc. (CIL, XIV. 2862) and *fortunae iovi puero ex testamento*, etc. (CIL, XIV. 2868).

The divinity of Praeneste was a variant of the great mother goddess. She was

a goddess "cosmicamente" and the two children of the statue Cicero described were Jupiter and Juno in "le funzioni cosmiche." Thus to Mr. Brelich a cult of a Jupiter as a child and as an adult does not represent a contradiction. At Praeneste the cult of the child Jupiter associated with the goddess as nurse and mother expressed a pre-cosmic relationship. The statue of Jupiter Imperator which the Roman dictator carried away after the victory over the people of Praeneste represented a sovereign and political aspect of the god which was acceptable to the Roman cult of Jupiter. In the second part of this essay the author investigates the myths of the foundations of the two cities, the stories connected with Caeculus, Cacus, Horatius Cocles and Romulus. By drawing parallels between the myths and legends he emphasizes the similarities rather than the contrast suggested by the account of the battle at the Allia. The cult of Fortuna at Praeneste, he points out, represented an older religion. Through Rome this goddess of chance began to appear as a divinity of disorder. The Jupiter of Rome became

supreme over Fortuna and her "chance" became "blind arrogance."

In "I primi re latini" the author considers the background of the tradition of the four kings, Saturn, Picus, Faunus and Latinus, in an effort to discover when such a series might have been formulated. He concludes that the tradition was an artificial compilation of relatively late date. The four divide into two groups: Janus and Saturn, associated with Rome and honored in solemn cults, and Picus and Faunus, *silvestria numina* belonging to Laurentum. But the role of each of the four figures sprang from the theme of a civilizing hero. Each one came from a state which preceded order. For Rome, since the role of king existed, these heroes became the earliest kings, men who were trying to form an organized society.

In "Februarius" Mr. Brelich tries to discover why the Romans placed the beginning of the year in March. He interprets the Terminalia, the Regifugium and the Equirria as, in order, the festival of the closing, passing and welding of the year. Other festivals of February recorded the disorder of the end of the year, the use of the last fruits of the previous season and the welcome of first fruits. Quirinus, honored in an enigmatic festival, was a figure identified with and contrasted to Mars. The Fornacalia, a festival concerned with a rite of making bread, ended on the first day of the festival of Quirinus. Thus, according to Mr. Brelich, the beginning of the archaic year was the period which followed the roasting of the last grain of the previous season. But, the author points out, Quirinus was an agrarian god sometimes identified with Romulus; consequently the story of Romulus' destruction belongs to the mythological theme of a corn-god. The date in July as the time of Romulus' death can be explained away, for Ovid mentioned the disappearance of the king in his account of the Quirinalia, and the months of February and July were confused in other items on the Roman calendar.

Students of Roman religion will find much that is provocative in each essay. The author has imposed concepts of comparative religion upon the religion for the Romans. The "cosmic symbolism" of the cult at Praeneste, for example, seems unnatural to primitive beliefs of the early inhabitants of central Italy. The conclusions about the festivals of February are built on a series of hypotheses which may or may not be true. It is difficult to think of Romulus as a corn-god.

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The format of the book is attractive, and misprints are rare. The source for the inscription *fortuna iovi puero ex testamento*, etc. cited on page eighteen is *CIL*, XIV, 2868 instead of 2860.

THE SECOND BOOK, *Gli eroi greci*, is also an attempt to relate religious beliefs and practices of the classical world to broader problems in the history of religions. Professor Brelich considers this volume introductory to a larger program for the investigation of Greek gods and myths. After a résumé of the efforts of earlier scholars to understand the concept of the Greek hero, the author describes the heroes in terms which set them apart from gods and men. He recognizes a "forma" which includes a series of characteristics: the Greek heroes were concerned with realities in the world of men, e.g., death, war, healing, the city, the family; the heroes had individual "personalities"; their myths belong to a past which was connected with the formation of the world of mankind. Classicists will find little that is new in this study. To the reviewer this volume is less successful in fulfilling its aims than the smaller book on problems of Roman religion. The *guin* series, of the *Annals* by Grant and of

explanations of method, elaboration of examples and analysis of results are long and discursive. The conclusions are based upon a series of generalizations which are open to question.

DORIS TAYLOR

Wheaton College (Mass.)

Tacitus: Annals Book I, edited by N. P. MILLER. Methuen's Classical Texts. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1959. Pp. x, 261.

THE LAST DECADE or so has seen an upsurge in Tacitean studies. There have appeared major works by: Willeumier (based upon Fabia's notes), *Tacite, l'homme et l'oeuvre* (1949); Paratore, with his gigantic *Tacito* (1951); Walker, *The Annals of Tacitus: A Study in the Writing of History* (1952); Mendell, *Tacitus: The Man and his Work* (1957); and finally Syme, with his massive and exciting *Tacitus* (1958). Löfstedt, in his *Roman Literary Portraits* (1958), devoted two fine chapters to Tacitus. There have also appeared engaging translations in the *Pen-*

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the *Germania* and *Agricola* by Mattingly. One can read about Tacitus, as well as enjoy some of his work in English, but where are the texts?

In this category our present generation has been less well served; the standard editions, with commentary, are still those of Furneaux, Spooner and Anderson, none as recent as twenty years ago. Some school editions in foreign tongues have come forth, but the field is still very fertile in English. Not completely so, however, at this point, for an excellent British series has begun to fill the gaps.

Several years ago, Methuen's Classical Texts, a series under the general editorship of W. S. Maguinness, sponsored an edition of Books 1 and 2 of Tacitus' *Histories*, edited by A. L. Irvine (an edition of *Annals* 14 had appeared in 1939). It was received with enthusiasm; a similar reception, several times over, must be accorded the text presently under review, for Miss Miller has produced a first-rate volume which no teacher need hesitate to hand to his students.

The introduction covers forty-eight pages, divided into six chapters: I. Life and Works

of Tacitus; II. Tacitus as an Historian; III. The Style of Tacitus; IV. The Syntax of Tacitus; V. The Reign of Tiberius; VI. The Conquest of Germany. The material herein is sound and conservative; a well-balanced picture of Tiberius, for example, comes through the vivid presentation (and innuendo) of the historian. Only one caveat comes to mind here: on p. 42, about Tiberius, M. writes, "The key to the reign is the character of the man, and although Tacitus' reading of that character is wrong, he is right in emphasizing that the problem of Tiberius is a problem in psychology." This point of view can, in its turn, be pushed too far, as was done by Marañon in his *Tiberius. A Study in Resentment*. A skeleton stemma of the Julio-Claudians, including only those figures of importance in the first book of the *Annals*, follows the introduction.

The text is based upon Fisher's in the Oxford Classical Texts, altered in some dozen places; in connection with these passages, M. furnishes compact, yet excellent, textual criticism (as on pp. 112, 149, 179, 205). The Oxford line numbering within the chapters has been scrapped in favor of the Teubner method of section reference, and this is all to the good, for it permits easier cross-reference to other texts.

A few words about orthography. Throughout the text, M. uses the letter *u* for both vocalic and consonantal *u*. The wisdom of this may be questioned, particularly in a text destined for undergraduates, all the more so since Furneaux, Fisher, Koestermann in the latest Teubner and Fuchs in the *Editiones Helveticae* differentiate the two. For ease of reading the latter course is surely to be preferred. One may also question the use of *apud* for *apud* (7.2), *set* for *sed* (32.3; 33.1) and *inperatoris* for *imperatoris* (9.2); the *Lexicon Taciteum* of Gerber and Greef does not list the *t* endings nor *inperator* at all, and most recent texts prefer the commoner forms of the words. It is all the more confusing because none of the three warrants independent listing in M.'s vocabulary.

Explanations of syntactical problems are normally precise and clear: only one suggestion. In 6.1, *custodiae* may well be a dative of purpose, if one considers the possible parallel of 4.60.1. Misspellings are rare. I noted only the following: on p. 165, with reference to 42.4, read *includi* for *intercludi*; on p. 236, read *eximo* for *exino*; on p. 239, read *inperatoris* for *inperatoris*.

The bulk of the commentary is devoted to matters historical, since cross-refer-

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ences to the introduction will satisfy most of the other demands. Here, too, the editor comports herself admirably. Few errors exist, judgments are judicious, command of recent bibliography is quite full. Again, only a few comments are in place here.

The seventh word in the *Annales* is *libertatem*; in the editor's discussion of this word on p. 97, we miss reference to *Agr. §.1* on Nerva's mingling of *res olim dissociabilis, principatum ac libertatem*, as well as to the monograph of C. Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome* (Cambridge, 1950).

On p. 99, the lemma *Lepidi atque Antonii arma* brings mention of the second triumvirate, with the official title of the three dynasts, *tresviri reipublicae constituendae*. Should the first word not rather be *triumviri* (cf. R. Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 188; *RE*, 7A, col. 519; and the editor's own note on p. 102)? On p. 102, under *exuto*, Lepidus is not given even the minimum credit due him; he did remain *pontifex maximus* until 12 B.C. *Contra* p. 103, Augustus did not have supreme command over all armies: Africa, Illyricum, Macedonia had troops and were senatorial

(Syme, *RR*, p. 314). Can *tribunicia potestas* strictly be called magistrate's power (p. 104)? The tribune was never a magistrate of the whole people. On p. 134, in connection with the transference of elections (15.1), the *tabula Hebana* deserves mention; for the fullest treatment, see J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer, *AJP* 75 (1954) 225 and, for an endeavor to make Tacitus and the Heba inscription compatible, Syme, *Tacitus*, app. 67.

These strictures are on the whole minor. There are many other points which are extremely well handled: e.g., Tacitus' treatment of the pros and cons concerning Augustus (pp. 125-26) and the imprecision about the Teutoburg forest (pp. 184-85). Furthermore, the value of the whole book is increased by an index to notes, an index of proper names and a vocabulary.

More could be said, but it would merely accumulate the obvious: this is an excellent edition, for which the editor deserves our praise and gratitude, and which itself merits wide use.

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Tacitus, Germania, herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Erläuterungen versehen von EUGEN FEHRLÉ. Fünfte überarbeitete Auflage besorgt von Richard Hünnerkopf. Heidelberg: Winter, 1959. Pp. 144. Pl. 8. 9. 80 DM.

FEHRLÉ BROUGHT OUT four editions of this book (1929, 1935, 1939, 1944) and had a further extensive revision well under way when he died in May, 1957. His friend Hünnerkopf made some alterations of his own and saw the present fifth edition through the press.

Slightly over 450 years of scholarship have been lavished on the *Germania* since it was discovered in the Renaissance, and the Germans, regarding it as not only a *libellus aureus* but almost as a holy book, have contributed more to this scholarly effort than have all other nations put together. Their nation's defeat in two World Wars has caused the Germans to turn with intensified ardor to the Tacitean treatise about their ancestors, whom the Romans had been unable to defeat in 210 years: *triumphati magis quam victi sunt*. Nazi Germany esteemed the *Germania* as a tribute, paid by an enemy, to the unspoiled vigor and *virtus* of the German race.

As the editions and translations have multiplied, Fehrlé's work has earned recognition in the middle ground between the numerous school editions and the imposing works of erudition reared by Müllenhoff and Norden. But the notes, neglecting considerations of style, rhetoric, syntax and most of the textual problems, are one-sided and reflect Fehrlé's special interests in Germanic folklore, customs and cultusages. The reader will further observe that Fehrlé makes no effort to be impartial; he is pro-German all the way. The two pages of bibliography (called "Schrifttum," not the more usual "Bibliographie") cite no works save in the German language. The introduction, discussing outstanding editions, neglects Rodney P. Robinson's and all non-German products except Anderson's and Gudeman's (the latter wrongly dated 1950 rather than 1928). The notes refer to only one article in English, by Kemp Malone. A note on the vexed *decumates agros* (ch. 29) acknowledges the superiority of the textual reading *decumathes*, supported by Robinson, but discards it for the unattested *decumatos*, suggested by J. Schnetz in 1940. The early Germans are defended both openly and subtly: if Tacitus ascribes to the Chatti a *minax vultus*, the uncomplicated adjective is deftly translated as "durchdringend."

The fifth edition is much improved from

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the first in arrangement and helpfulness. Heads and sub-heads in German clarify at a glance Tacitus' organization of the material and make it easy to find the discussion of any topic. The amplitude of the interpretative translation obviates the necessity for numerous small notes; the full benefit of the edition is available only to those who consult the facing translation. Here are samples of the translator's expansion of the Tacitean brevity: single sentences of 29, 33 and 44 words are turned into three sentences each, totaling respectively 53, 58 and 80 words; 27 lines of Latin on the left-hand page become 38 of German on the right. Misprints of the first edition have been mostly eliminated in favor of a few new ones; but the odd-looking *cupi-date* (ch. 36) has maintained itself unchallenged through all editions. Readers will share the editor's regret that the valuable illustrative plates had to be reduced from fourteen to eight.

Fehrlé abstains from comment on Tacitus' view of a present-day controversy (ch. 19): *Numerum liberorum finire . . . flagitium habetur*.

CLARENCE A. FORBES

Ohio State University

ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE NEW ENGLAND LATIN WORKSHOP, sponsored by the Tufts University Summer Session and the Classical Association of New England, will be held June 27 to July 15, 1960; an additional course will be offered during the period July 18 to August 5 for persons wishing to stay on. The director is Professor Van L. Johnson of Tufts. Staff members will be Mr. John K. Colby of Phillips Academy, Andover, Dr. Ralph Marcellino of the Hempstead, L.I., High School, Mr. Arthur Spencer of the Reading, Mass., High School and Professor Robert E. Wolverson of Tufts. Guest lecturers will include Professor Mason Hammond of Harvard University, Daniel W. Marshall of Tufts and Dr. Hazel Palmer of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Four courses, each for 3 credits (graduate or undergraduate), will be offered during the period June 27 to July 15: The Teaching of First-Year Latin (Mr. Colby); The Teaching of Second-Year Latin (Mr. Spencer); The Teaching of Third and Fourth-Year Latin (Dr. Marcellino); Classical Mythology for Latin Teachers (Prof. Wolverson).

A fifth course in the reading of some Latin author will be offered during the period July 18 to August 5. See advertise-

ments in the *Classical Journal*, *Classical Outlook* and *Classical World*.

At its Annual Meeting, held in New York on December 28, 1959, the Vergilian Society of America made the following changes in officers: Professor Alexander G. McKay, McMaster University, was elected Vice-President, and the following new members of the Board of Trustees were elected: Professor John Workman, Brown University; Miss Carolyn Bock, New Jersey State Teachers' College; Mr. Frederick Hilton of Boston, Mass.; and Mr. Paul Geier, of Rome, Italy. Other officers and trustees remain the same.

It was also decided to raise the dues of the Society to \$2.00 for regular and \$7.00 for supporting memberships. The Secretary announced that the British Virgil Society was considering a volume of collected essays and addresses on Vergil, to include about eight essays by well-known British scholars (e.g., Cyril Bailey, Jackson-Knight, Dorothy Sayre and T. S. Eliot). The American Vergilian Society has been asked to help underwrite the cost of this venture, and will take subscriptions for it. The cost will be about \$1.50 to members or to those who subscribe in advance of publication. Further information can be secured from Professor C. T. Murphy, Secretary, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

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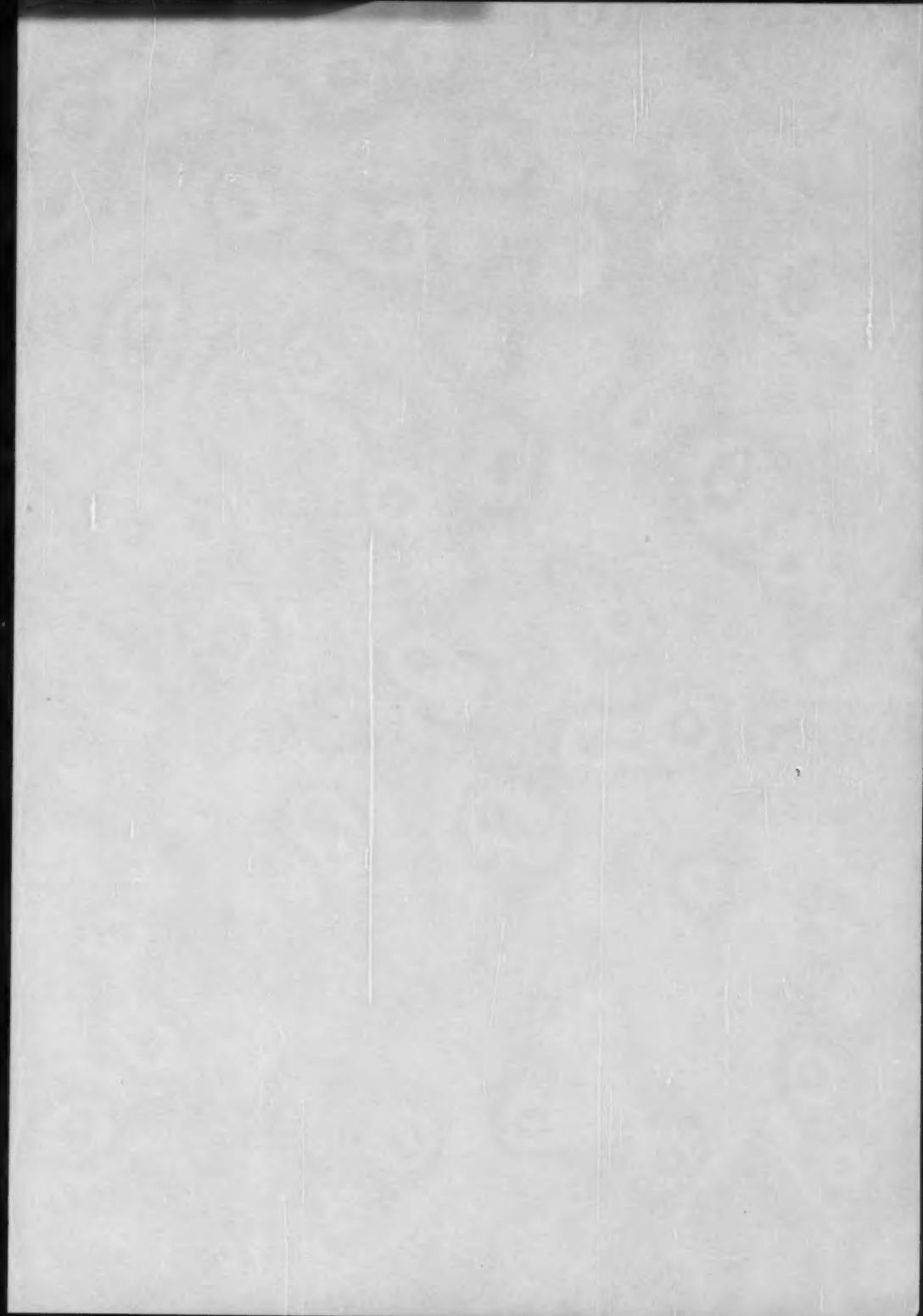
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